

*Fray Alonso
de Benavides'
Revised Memorial
of 1634*

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Benavides

Fray Alonso de Benavides'

Revised Memorial of 1634

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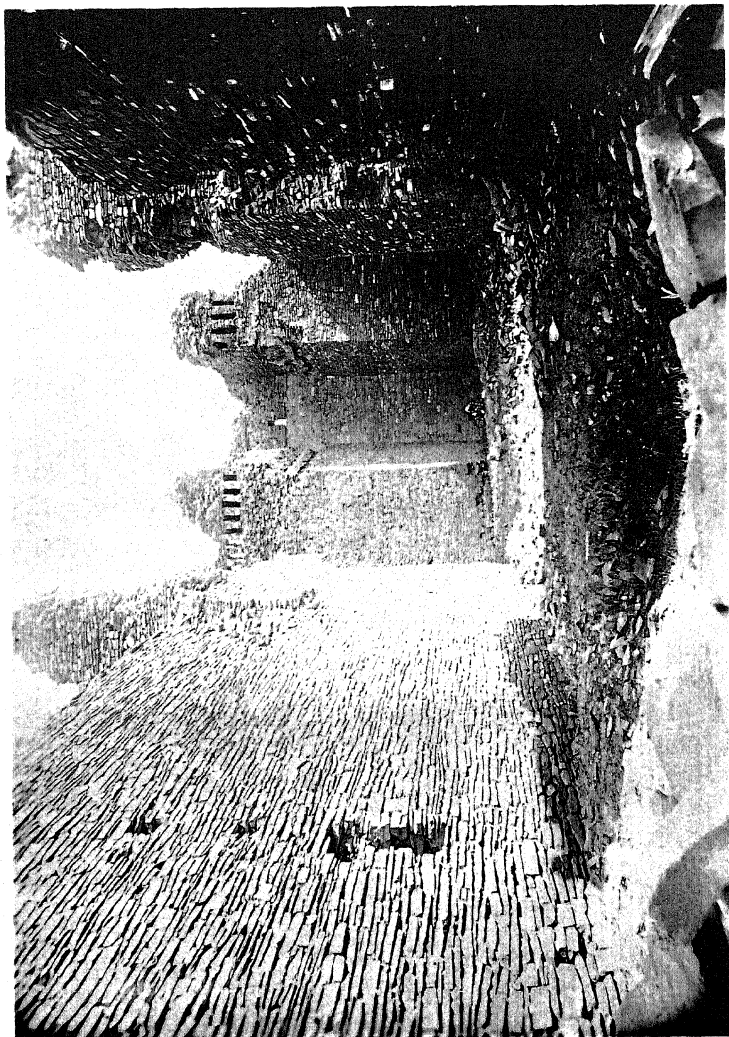
The University of New Mexico



Volume IV

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FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES'
REVISED MEMORIAL
. OF 1634



INTERIOR OF THE RUINED CHURCH OF LA CONCEPCIÓN DE QUAKÁL.
(Photo. by C. F. Lummis about 1890)

Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634

With Numerous Supplementary Documents
Elaborately Annotated

FREDERICK WEBB HODGE
GEORGE P. HAMMOND
AGAPITO REY

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FOREWORD

Plans for the publication of the Benavides Memorial of 1634 were announced as early as 1929, when the first list of volumes to be published by the newly founded Quivira Society was chosen. The response of the public was enthusiastic. Delays followed, however, indefinite delays, to our great disappointment. Yet we feel that the reader will have profited by the long postponement, as much new material has come to light in the intervening years. These materials will make Benavides' work more interesting, more complete, and, we believe, more valuable.

Benavides wrote an earlier Memorial, which he published in Spain in 1630. The English edition of this Memorial of 1630, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer and elaborately annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis, privately printed in Chicago in 1916 in a limited edition of 300 copies, was quickly exhausted. Copies soon demanded high prices.

Shortly after the above excellent edition of the Memorial of 1630 appeared, it became known that Father Benavides, while still in Spain, had revised and rewritten his Memorial on New Mexico, incorporating new information which he had received from the missionaries whom he had left behind. Benavides prepared this enlarged report for the special use of the Pope, Urban VIII, hoping, no doubt, to obtain special favors and concessions for his beloved missions of New Mexico.

Much of the importance of the present work rests on the numerous historical documents which have been revealed in recent years, and which have been added as appendices. It may not be too much to assert that they are as important as the Memorial itself for the additional light which they shed on New Mexico and mission work on the northern border before 1634.

The year 1916 marked the publication of the first Memorial of Benavides in English, as noted. It may with truth be said that this year marked a renaissance in the study of New Mexi-

can and Southwestern history. Ralph E. Twitchell's great volumes on New Mexico appeared at this time. It was in that year that Herbert E. Bolton published his noteworthy *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, followed in short order by Charles W. Hackett's *New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Historical Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, based on some of the latest archive work of Adolph F. Bandelier and his wife, by the early studies on Oñate and the founding of New Mexico by George P. Hammond, by the numerous articles of Lansing B. Bloom in the revived *New Mexico Historical Review* (1926), and by the extensive writings of France V. Scholes, and others.

While the text of the Memorial of 1634 is different from the one of 1630, a certain amount of content is obviously common to both versions. Many of the explanatory notes of the Ayer translation of the Memorial of 1630 are, therefore, incorporated in the present work, but these notes have been rewritten in view of the additional information not available in 1916. The Biography and Bibliography of Benavides and the Notes of the present volume are primarily the contribution of Dr. Hodge, with such revision as has been noted above. The English version of the Memorial and the Appendices are largely the work of his junior associates, while the task of revision has been a common effort. It should be observed, nevertheless, that where such expressions as "the present writer" or the personal pronoun "I" appear, these terms refer to Dr. Hodge.

It is gratifying to record our appreciation, for many kindly and scholarly suggestions, to Dr. France V. Scholes, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and to Professor Lansing B. Bloom, of the University of New Mexico, whose writings in early New Mexico history are of very great value. We desire also to acknowledge the courtesy of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, professor emeritus of archaeology and anthropology at the University of New Mexico, for the privilege of examining photostat copies of various Benavides documents.

FREDERICK WEBB HODGE
GEORGE P. HAMMOND
AGAPITO REY

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BIOGRAPHY OF BENAVIDES

Of Alonso de Benavides, author of two Memorials on New Mexico, the first published in Spanish, in 1630, and the second revised, in 1634, but not published until the present time, relatively little is known. It is gathered from Fray Agustín de Vetancurt¹ and less important sources that he was a son of Pedro Alonso Nieto and Antonia Murato de Benavides, and that he was born on the island of San Miguel of the Azores in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* places his birth at about 1610, but this is a number of years too late, for in 1609 he testified that he was then more than thirty years of age, and in a letter written in 1634 he asserted that he had served in New Spain for more than thirty years.² Medina, famous historian of Latin America, states that he went to Mexico in 1598.³

As a layman, Benavides served as an alguacil mayor of the Inquisition in the island of Española about the year 1600. He made his vows in the Convento de Nuestro Padre San Francisco in the city of Mexico, August 12, 1603, later becoming master of novices in the convent of Puebla. On January 5, 1608, we find Benavides signing an order and notification prohibiting certain individuals from leaving Veracruz before answering charges against them;⁴ and on March 24 of the following year he testified against certain runaway negroes accused of superstitious practices,⁵ at which time he described himself as a licensed preacher in the Franciscan order and in charge of the reduction of the above-mentioned negroes near his jurisdiction in Veracruz.⁶

During the years that followed, Benavides appears to have served the Holy Office on various occasions, a fact attested by a letter addressed by him to the Inquisitor on September 24, 1621, while living in Cuernavaca. Two years later, when elected cus-

1. *Menologio Franciscano de los Varones más Señalados*, p. 428.

2. See Appendices I and XVIII, *infra*, pp. 105 and 183.

3. *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, vol. II, pp. 325-326.

4. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 283, fol. 126.

5. *Ibid.*, tomo 284, fol. 715; see also Appendix I, *infra*, pp. 105-106.

6. See Appendix I, *infra*, p. 105.

todian of New Mexico, he was guardian of the Convent of San Juan Temamatlac.⁷

The custodia of New Mexico was founded about 1616,⁸ Fray Estevan de Perea becoming the first custodian, evidently by appointment of the Franciscan authorities in New Spain. He held the office until 1621, when he was succeeded by Fray Miguel de Chavarría, who had been elected in 1620 but who did not go to New Mexico until the fall of 1621, remaining there for only a year. From the time of Chavarría's departure for Mexico in October, 1622, until December, 1625, Fray Ascensio de Zárate served as vice-custodian through appointment by Chavarría.

Meanwhile, Benavides was elected to the office on October 19, 1623, by action of the provincial and definitors of the province of Santo Evangelio, an election in which Perea had much influence; but the new custodian did not set out for New Mexico until early in 1625 and did not reach his destination until near the close of the year.⁹ This delay was probably due, as Dr. France V. Scholes states,¹⁰ to the fact that twelve new friars were being dispatched to the New Mexico missions and preparations for the long journey northward took much time. Scholes further states that Benavides was obliged also to tarry along the way, as he had been authorized to exercise the authority of the Inquisition in Cuencamé and Santa Bárbara in Nueva Vizcaya, as well as in New Mexico. That the authorities had the utmost confidence in Benavides' ability and loyalty, there evidently is no question.

"The reception of a new custodian was always a formal affair," continues Scholes. The first important duty of the new governor, Felipe de Sotelo Osorio, "was to prepare for the reception to be accorded Father Benavides," whose "dual position [that of custodian and commissary of the Inquisition] gave his case a special significance," for as commissary he was clothed with full authority to investigate all cases of heresy

7. See Appendix III, *infra*, p. 108; also Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, VII, p. 69.

8. Since we know that Perea was already exercising the office of custodian before the end of January, 1617, the date of establishment of the office can be fixed, approximately. Cf. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 86.

9. See Appendices III-VII, *infra*, pp. 108-129.

10. *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 86.

and other ecclesiastical offenses over which the Inquisition had jurisdiction. "The dates set for the reception were January 24 and 25, 1626. On January 24, Benavides arrived in Santa Fé where the governor and cabildo, in full military regalia, received him with proper courtesy and escorted him to the convent, while the soldiers fired a salute with arquebuses and artillery. On the following day a formal procession of the governor, cabildo, and citizens accompanied Benavides to the church where the edict of the faith was read by Friar Pedro de Ortega, whom Benavides had appointed notary of the Holy Office."¹¹

In his relations with Governor Eulate, Benavides' tenure was not so unhappy as Perea's and Zárate's. Chavarria, too, apparently had got on well with Eulate. The latter never hesitated to show his hostility to the Church, while his policy toward the Indians, contrary to the teaching of the missionaries, was another thorn in the flesh. Eulate's term of office, however, expired when the new governor, Felipe de Sotelo Osorio, reached New Mexico in the same caravan with Benavides in December, 1625. One of the first duties of the new custodian-commissary was to institute hearings in connection with the complaints against Eulate, the chief complainant being Perea, and there were more than thirty others whose testimony was taken between January and September, 1626.

Eulate and Perea were members of the same party that returned to Mexico in the autumn of that year. It is evident that Perea's charges against the governor were favorably received in Mexico, for he was elected in 1627 to succeed Benavides,¹² though he did not take office in New Mexico until the spring of 1629.¹³

It must not be supposed that Benavides' custodianship was without its burdens, for occasional irritations and differences between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities that had characterized previous administrations, especially that of Governor Eulate, kept the old wounds open during Benavides' service in New Mexico. Nor was the new governor, Sotelo Osorio,

11. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, pp. 86-87; and Appendices v-vii, *infra*, pp. 125-129.

12. See Appendix viii, *infra*, p. 130.

13. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 88.

guiltless, in the eyes of the Franciscans, of hostility toward the Church, against which he expressed views contrary to its rights and immunities. These contentions between Church and State continued for many years, the Pueblo Indians especially suffering from the conflict of authority for which neither jurisdiction can be held blameless. The sworn testimony against Sotelo Osorio was transmitted to the Holy Office by Benavides, but, as in the case of Eulate, nothing seems to have been done about it.¹⁴

It has been seen that Benavides brought with him to New Mexico twelve new missionaries to join the fourteen already in the province and who correspondingly expanded the missionary work, including the building of new churches and convents.¹⁵ Ever zealous in his adopted cause, Benavides not only conducted the labors usually incident to such an enormous field, but assumed the hazardous undertaking, during a part of the time, of propagating the gospel among the wild Apache of the region of the upper Gila in the present southwestern New Mexico. The Memorial itself sets forth these activities during Benavides' term of office as custodian-commissary, of which he was relieved early in 1629.

Fray Estevan de Perea, who succeeded Benavides, arrived in the province that spring and took charge at the mission headquarters in Santo Domingo. He had left Mexico city on September 5, 1628, with the thirty other priests and lay brothers the king had decreed should be sent to New Mexico in response to the urgent request of Fray Juan de Santander,

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104; also his "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, x, p. 195; and App. xvi, p. 168 ff.

15. In order that there may be no confusion respecting the term *convento* as employed in this work, the following lines are quoted from a letter addressed to Mr. Hodge by the late Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., noted Franciscan historian of Santa Barbara, California: "There was no such thing as a monastery in New Mexico to this day [1902]. A monastery means a good-sized family of religious men. Convent, it is true, in English signifies a community of religious women, first of all; but it would be better than monastery from an historical point, as there were never more than two in New Mexico in one house, and that accidentally, or for a time only, at Santa Fe and Santo Domingo. In my *History* I shall retain the word 'convento' and give my explanation that it means the 'habitation of the missionary,' in order to avoid the clumsy 'priest's dwelling,' 'priest's house,' which both imply priests in the ordinary sense and not monks, as those were that labored in New Mexico, Texas, etc., and also in order to avoid the erroneous impression created every time 'convent' or 'monastery' is used."

commissary-general of the Indies, made at the solicitation of Benavides. The latter continued to serve in New Mexico until his departure from the province in the autumn of 1629 with the supply train. He was in Mexico by March 19, 1630, for on that date the testimony in the Inquisition case against Rivera, which Benavides had conducted in New Mexico in the summer of 1629, was delivered to the Holy Office. In other words, he did not leave New Mexico till some months after the arrival of Perea.¹⁶

It was the evident intention of Benavides to return to New Mexico, there to continue his missionary labors, for in his letter of 1631 and in a number of later communications, as we shall see, he states that it was his hope "to be back among your paternities to enjoy the happy good fortune of your company, although I confess I do not deserve it."¹⁷ But after reaching the city of Mexico it seemed wise to the viceroy and the prelates that he should proceed to Spain for the purpose of giving to the king and the father-general of the Franciscan order, Fray Bernardino de Siena, an account of "the more notable and unusual things that were happening in their holy custodia" of New Mexico.

Benavides reached Spain on August 1, 1630, where, at Madrid, his first Memorial was duly presented. That it was received with high favor there would be no doubt even if we had not word to that effect from Benavides himself,¹⁸ for, besides being the direct means of the granting of the much-desired missionaries, some of them at the cost of the royal exchequer, the report was published, by authority, at Madrid in the same year, at which time Benavides was commissary of the Holy Office, or had been until he went to Spain. Let us quote Benavides' words, in translation, regarding the Memorial written to the friars he had left behind in New Mexico:¹⁹

"With this letter I am forwarding to your paternities a

16. Dr. France V. Scholes has unearthed more material on Perea than any modern scholar and has established the fact that he was a great missionary pioneer. See his "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, VII, 61 ff., and *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 69 ff. Consult also Appendix xxiv, *infra*, p. 200 *et seq.*

17. See Appendix xi, *Tanto que se sacó*, p. 137

18. *Loc. cit.*

19. *Loc. cit.*

printed Memorial which I presented to his Majesty and the royal Council of the Indies. It was so well received in Spain that I am planning to bring out a second printing for the satisfaction of the many who ask for it. Your paternities, please do not judge me inadequate, as I know very well the Memorial is greatly so, considering how much it lacks and how much your paternities deserve. I prepared it in such brief form, even at the cost of not saying the many things that it does not contain, only to induce his Majesty to read it. Not only did he read it, but the members of his Council all read it. They liked it so well that not only did they read it many times and learn it by heart, but they have repeatedly asked me for other copies. To satisfy these demands I have distributed four hundred copies. Our reverend father general sent some to Rome to his Holiness, in addition to the ones that I mentioned in the printed Memorial."

Copies of the Memorial of 1630 afford internal evidences that the author's intention to reprint the book was put in effect. The two copies examined (the Edward E. Ayer copy in the Newberry Library of Chicago and the copy from the Huth collection now in the Library of Congress) exhibit certain typographical changes that make this apparent. For example, in the Ayer copy, which I take to be the first impression, both the odd and the even pages are numbered in the upper left-hand corner, while the single marginal rule is at the right side of the page; in the Library of Congress copy the odd pages are correctly numbered in the upper right-hand corner, and the single rule is on the inner margin of the page. The spelling "Cuñi" in the heading on page 35 and also in the second line of the text of this section in the Ayer copy, is changed to "Zuñi" in the Library of Congress copy to conform with the orthography elsewhere in the text (page 36, for example). On page 91 the heading "Reyno de Quivira Aixaos" in the Ayer copy appears as "Reyno de Quivira y Aixaos" in the Library of Congress copy, although why this change should have been made is not apparent, as it is not consistent with the references to these two "provinces" in the text. Careful search would probably detect other typographical changes, but those noted are sufficient to show that there were at least

two impressions of the Memorial. There is no doubt, however, that they were printed from the same type; that is, without resetting. Curiously enough, in altering the position of the pagination of the odd pages above referred to, the numerous errors in the page numbers were not corrected.²⁰

On the last of April, 1631, Benavides visited the celebrated Mother María de Jesús, otherwise known as María Coronel and María de Agreda, abbess of the Convento de la Concepción Purísima in Agreda, on the borders of Aragon and Castile. This visit, which seems to have covered a fortnight, was made at the instance of Father-General Siena, who had informed Benavides that eight years before he had notice of this remarkable woman, of how she had apparitions and revelations concerning the conversions in New Mexico, and had himself made the nun a visit. Benavides, who mentions Mother María de Jesús somewhat at length in the Memorial in connection with his description of the conversion of the Jumano Indians, now learned that this ascetic, who was about twenty-nine years of age, had made numerous "flights" to New Mexico, commencing eleven years before, in 1620, sometimes making the journey three or four times in twenty-four hours. The miracles she claimed to have performed were marvelous in the extreme. Benavides received from her a handwriting, dated May 15, 1621, attesting to the truth of her assertions; he also obtained "the very habit that she wore when she went there. The veil radiates such a fragrance that it is a comfort to the spirit." Some of the tribal names mentioned by Mother María de Jesús,²¹ as might be expected, were, like the journeys themselves, creations of the imagination; others, it may be suggested, were derived from the Memorial published the year before.

Benavides' communication to the fathers in New Mexico was published under the title:²²

20. With respect to this matter, Dr. Henry R. Wagner (*The Spanish Southwest*, pt. I, p. 229) says: "Although it is possible that a second edition of the book was printed it is not necessary to assume this in order to account for the variations, as it was a common procedure at that period to make changes while books were going through the press. The page rules and pagination, however, could hardly have been changed while the entire book was being printed."

21. See Appendix XI, p. 142.

22. See p. 135. For facsimiles of the title-pages of the various editions, see Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, II, 342 ff.

Tanto que se sacó de vna carta, que el R. Padre Fr. Alonso de Benavides, Custodio que fue del Nuevo Mexico, embió a los Religiosos de la Santa Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo de dicho Reyno, desde Madrid, el año de 1631. Dase á la estampa à expensas de vn afecto à la Religion.

Colophon: Con licencia de los superiores. Impresso en Mexico: por Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, Ministro, é Impressor del Real, y Apostolico Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada en toda esta Nueva-España, Año de 1730.

Small 8°, leaf with engraving, on recto, of "La V^a. M^a. Maria de Iesus de Agreda, Predicando á los Chichimecos del Nuebo-mexico. Antt de Castro f^o."; title as above, with an ornamental border, verso blank; dedicatoria, 2 leaves; text, 10 numbered pages.

From the anonymous dedication, which Dr. Wagner believes was possibly written by the printer himself, it is plain that the letter was printed for the first time in 1730 from the original copy in the archives of the Franciscan order in Mexico City.

In this connection it may be stated that a copy of what seemingly is the Tanto que se sacó is listed by Dr. Scholes (*New Mexico Historical Review*, III, pp. 301-302), under date of 1631, as a "Letter of Padre Benavides to the religious of the custodia, 4 ff.," in the National Library of Mexico and which seems "to have formed a part of the archive of the old Franciscan province of Santo Evangelio." It seems possible that this manuscript is the one from which the Tanto que se sacó was printed in 1730, to which the dedication was added.²³

A variant of this first edition (1730) is mentioned by Dr. Charles E. Chapman,²⁴ the title of which ends: "Ympreso en Mexico: Por Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, Ministro e Ympresor del Real y Apostolico Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada en toda esta Nueva España. Año de 1730.", whereas in the edition above described the colophon is at the end. This booklet consists of sixteen pages, 10.2 by 14.2 cm.

An entirely new edition, without the dedication and with a different engraving of María de Jesús de Agreda, by Ponze,

²³. The copy listed by Dr. Scholes was published by Fernando Ocaranza in his *Establecimientos franciscanos en el misterioso reino de Nuevo Mexico*, Mexico, 1934, pp. 73-84.

²⁴. *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias*, p. 73.

was printed in Mexico in 1747, with the following title, extracted from Wagner, who reproduces the title-page and the engraving of this edition, as well as of the other:

Tanto, que se sacó de una carta, que el R. Padre Fr. Alonso de Benavides, Custodio que fue del Nuevo Mexico, embió a los Religiosos de la Santa Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo de dicho Reyno, desde Madrid, el año de 1631. Dase a la estampa a expensas de un afecto, quien la dedica a la Soberana Emperatriz de los Angeles, Madre Inmaculada del Divino Verbo Encarnado, Maria Santissima en su Purissima Concepcion.

Colophon: Reimpresso en Mexico, por la Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal. Año de 1747.

8°, engraving, verso blank; title, verso blank, and fourteen numbered pages with the colophon at the end.

Still another printing, purporting to have been issued in Madrid in 1631, but which Dr. Wagner shows to have been made probably about 1760, has the following caption title (reproduced by Wagner) only:

Tanto, que se sacó de una carta, que el R. P. Fr. Alonso de Benavides, Custodio, que fue del Nuevo Mexico, embió a los Religiosos de la Santa Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo de dicho Reyno, desde Madrid, el año de 1631.

8°, leaf with engraving on recto, sixteen numbered pages.

The Benavides letter, together with the "Traslado de las razones, que la Bendita Madre Maria de Jesus escribe á los dichos PP. del Nuevo México," appears on pp. 331-336 and 337-341, respectively, of Fr. Francisco Palou's *Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra*, Mexico, 1787. Benavides' Tanto que se sacó is printed also in Francisco Javier Clavijero's *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California*, translated from the Italian by Nicolás García de San Vicente, pp. 248-252, Méjico, 1852. A translation of Palou's Life of Serra, by C. Scott Williams, with an introduction and notes by George Wharton James, was published in Pasadena, California, in 1913.

What is seemingly a copy of the Benavides letter is contained in the collection of manuscripts written or gathered by the

noted scholar, José Fernando Ramírez, and now in the Museo Nacional of Mexico. The letter is in volume III of "Extractos y Noticias de Manuscritos relacionados con la Historia de Mexico" (p. 453 *et seq.*), and, together with an accompanying critique by a Jesuit, is noted by Professor Herbert E. Bolton²⁵ as having the title: "Carta de Fr. Alonso de Benavides en que se da noticia de las predicaciones que la Madre Agreda hacía en espíritu á los infieles del Nuevo Mexico (1631), y fragmentos de la crítica que un Jesuita hizo de esta narración." Professor Bolton adds the note: "The carta is printed with illustrated title-page, 16 pp., 16 mo. The critique by the Jesuit is apparently original, and is entitled: 'Súplica del P. Miguel G[u]errero de la Comp^a de Jhs. á M R^s P^s de San Fran^{co}.' 5 pp. Only a fragment. The author scouts the idea of kings among the tribes." Dr. Wagner (*op. cit.*, p. 349) comments more at length with respect to the Jesuit's strictures.

Also noted by Professor Bolton (*op. cit.*, p. 391) is a "copy of a letter of Benavides to the missionaries of New Mexico, made from the original in the Secretaría de Casa Grande, 1700," contained in the Archive of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, among various bulls, royal cédulas, and miscellaneous papers.

On the authority of Beristáin y Sousa, a *Relacion de los grandes tesoros espirituales y temporales descubiertos con el auxilio de Dios en el Nuevo México*, by Fr. Alonso Benavidez, was printed in quarto in Mexico in 1630; and according to Cesáreo Fernández Duro,²⁶ on the authority of Fr. Alonso de Posadas, Benavides published in Madrid, in 1632, another memorial, "proponiendo la apertura al comercio de los ríos de la bahía del Espíritu Santo." It should be borne in mind that Benavides made a report to Santander on the conversions in New Mexico under date of June 20, 1626, as mentioned in his letter to the king, preceding the Memorial of 1630.

It has been the common belief that Benavides returned to Mexico some time after he went to Spain in August, 1630, but it is now quite evident that he never made the return

25. *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, p. 203.

26. *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su Descubrimiento del Reino de Quivira*, p. 132.

journey, although fully authorized to do so. He was engaged in writing and publishing his Memorial during the remainder of the year, and in 1631 he visited the nun in Agreda.

In February, 1631, the Dominicans applied for authority to enter the New Mexico mission field and to send there thirty missionaries of their order, a number suspiciously suggesting the influence of the printed Memorial, which requested the same number of Franciscans the year before. It was said that the Franciscans had asked the help of the Dominicans, which seems unlikely in view of the arrival of Perea with his band of new missionaries in the spring of 1629.²⁷

In September, 1631, Benavides petitioned his Majesty, still referring to himself as custodian of New Mexico,²⁸ respecting the authority assumed by the governors of New Mexico, their illegal treatment of the Indians, etc. In an accompanying document it is stated that Fray Francisco de Sosa, commissary at the capital and general secretary of the order of Saint Francis, pointed out the importance of erecting a bishopric in New Mexico. The memorial was sent to Don Juan de Solórzano, fiscal, who opined that the bishopric should be established "and that the one appointed by your Majesty should be a friar of the order of Saint Francis."²⁹

Then under date of September 16, 1631, in Madrid, in a consulta of the Council, it is stated: "Therefore we do not know what he [Benavides] wishes the *relatores* for, since in this most important matter we must wait for the reports which your Majesty ordered to be obtained; for what the friar seems to aim at is that this bishopric be granted to him, as can be deduced from his approaching some members of the Council to this effect."³⁰ Benavides evidently did not allow grass to grow under his feet then or later!

It will be noted that Benavides presented his revised Memorial to Pope Urban VIII on February 12, 1634. Two months later, on April 2, by order of the pope, he addressed a *Rellatione*, or "Account of the Conversion of New Mexico," to the Sacred

27. Appendices ix, x, and xiv.

28. Appendix xiii.

29. See Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Reales Cédulas*, tomo 1, núm. 73; and Appendix xiii, especially pp. 157-158.

30. Appendix xiii-f.

Congregation of the Propaganda Fide,³¹ in which he does not fail to mention the determination of the king in 1631 to establish a bishopric and to ask the pope to confirm it, mentioning that "his Majesty decided that the friars of Saint Francis . . . should be appointed first, but up to this time no person has been nominated for the dignity of bishop." It is evident that the printed Memorial of 1630, the revised Memorial of 1634, and the Rellatione were designed not alone to promote the missionary effort in New Mexico, in which Benavides had been eminently successful, but, rather guardedly, to offer himself as a candidate for the bishopric by virtue of his services for and his familiarity with the needs of the New Mexico mission field.

Apparently Benavides' desire to return to New Mexico, still strong in his heart, was on the way to fulfillment, for in September, 1634, provision was ordered for the transportation, subsistence, and clothing of Benavides and a companion "who are to go to New Mexico, in accordance with the order issued by his Majesty";³² and on October 22 he wrote from Madrid, incidentally casting out another hint as to the need of a bishop for New Mexico and stating that the king had provided that he sail in the fleet that was to leave during February, 1635.³³

Again, on December 4, 1634, the king ordered the Casa de Contratación in Seville to provide Benavides and his companion, Fray Antonio Ramallo de Benavides, with what they needed for the proposed journey to Veracruz, the cost being estimated at 46,732 maravedis.³⁴ The related instructions are given in characteristic detail.³⁵

On August 18, 1634, Benavides again addressed the king, stating that he had served in New Spain for more than thirty years,³⁶ that in 1630 he had appeared before his Majesty, who commended his services; that in 1632 the king had ordered him to go to Italy, accompanying the ambassador, Don Fran-

31. Appendix xiv.

32. Appendix xvii-A.

33. Appendix xvii-B.

34. Approximately 172 silver pesos, *oro común*; the silver peso was equal to 272 maravedis.

35. Appendices xviii-A and B and xix.

36. Benavides made his vows in 1603.

cisco de Melo, as confessor; that it was now deemed desirable for him to resume his missionary duties in New Mexico; that, having set out from Rome on this mission, in January, 1635, he "arrived at this court when the fleet had already sailed away, finding myself forced to wait until the next one." Benavides again took occasion to request the king to issue another royal cedula, "honoring and favoring in it both the friars and the Spanish soldiers in New Mexico," and entreating his Majesty that he be given "as alms transportation and sustenance for my companion and myself, as poor friars of Saint Francis . . . Without this aid, because of the poverty of our profession, we could never go thither . . ."³⁷

To this the king responded favorably, in a general way, on January 30, in a letter to the viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to "aid and favor Fray Alonso de Benavides and those of his order who are taking or who may take part in the conversion of the Indians of New Mexico."³⁸

During this same period, Benavides appealed to the king in behalf of the Indians of New Mexico, asking that they be exempt from tribute and enforced personal service for ten years from the time the whole nation became converted, that is, baptized.³⁹ His letter, undated, was approved by the king on January 19, 1635.⁴⁰ This act was followed a little later by a formal cedula, ordering that excessive tribute and personal service should not be exacted from the Indians of New Mexico, because of the evil effect that such requirements had on the efforts to Christianize them.⁴¹

There was certainly every reason to believe that our missionary would have been well on his way to New Spain by this time, but we find him still in Madrid on March 7 and July 8, 1635, as indicated by letters addressed by him on those dates to Monsignor Francisco Inguli.⁴² Because Rosa Figueroa

37. Benavides' statement in this paragraph about "having set out from Rome" is misleading, for it is clear from his letter of October 22, 1634, that he was back in Madrid at that time. See Appendix xvii-B. Consult also Appendix xviii-D, p. 186, which confirms this interpretation.

38. Appendix xviii-D.

39. Appendices xvi and xviii-E.

40. See Appendix xvi.

41. Appendix xviii-E.

42. Appendices xx and xxi.

stated that the province of Santo Evangelio in 1635 sent Benavides one hundred pesos for expenses, it has been assumed that he had returned to New Spain, which we have seen was not the case.⁴³

In an unsigned and undated letter evidently written by Benavides to Monsignor Inguli before the end of June, the pope is asked indirectly to name as the immediate authority of his Holiness "the prelates of the monastic orders in order that they may invest those whom they place in charge of conversions and administrations with this authority, without depending on the bishops or any other tribunal; for if this authority were lacking, the propagation of the faith would cease. It is plainly seen that only the friars, particularly those of Saint Francis, are interested in converting souls, while the bishops and secular priests care only about missions that are already well established . . . When a bishop for New Mexico is named, it is desirable that he remain always in the city of Santa Fe . . . Furthermore, it is very important that he be an humble friar, . . . and that he be chosen from the Franciscan order . . . Enormous damage would result to souls if the poor Indians and poor Spaniards had to appeal not only to Rome, . . . but also to the bishops . . . To change this method would cause so great misgivings to the friars themselves that rather than be subject to the bishops and to the ministers of the crown they will abandon the conversions and ministrations . . ."⁴⁴ Although unsigned, the letter, from the tenor and handwriting, bears every evidence that it was written by Benavides.

This document states that the writer planned to sail for the Indies toward the end of June; but these plans were further changed, for reasons that we may only surmise. On November 14, the king repeated that everything previously ordered for the proposed trip by Benavides and his companion to New Mexico be granted by the Casa de Contratación.⁴⁵

An undated "Summary of the Relation of New Mexico given to the Sacred Congregation by Father Alonso Benavides," replete with exaggeration, again urged the establishment of

43. Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, VII, p. 72.

44. Appendix XX-B.

45. Appendix XIX.

a bishopric for New Mexico. In part it says: "Finally, he judges it necessary that a bishopric be established in those parts, on account of the difficulties of ordination, and of the sacred oils, and confirmation, not being able to travel from Old Mexico to New Mexico without great danger from the barbarous natives . . . He further adds that one could establish a bishopric in the city called Santa Fe, where the governor resides with his Spaniards, and it seems to him that this dignity should be given to one of the fathers, Roque de Figueredo, Estevan de Perea, Juan de Salas, or Cristóbal de Quirós, who are theologians and preachers."⁴⁶

Following this document is an "Important Note of Father Benavides" regarding the heretical English and Dutch who had become established on the Atlantic coast, followed by a statement "Regarding the Truth of the Reports of Father Benavides."⁴⁷

Efforts to bring about the establishment of a bishopric in New Mexico had been in vain, notwithstanding the persistent urgings on the part of Benavides and the recommendations of those of high authority. But of the events that transpired between November 14, 1635, and February 11 following, nothing seems to have been recorded concerning the matter. On the latter date, however, Campeggi, of the Congregación de Propaganda Fide, addressed Cardinal Barberini, from Madrid, to the effect that Benavides had induced him to defer bringing up certain matters pertaining to the church in New Spain, "until seeing if, on the occasion of the present fleet, he might not find out what difficulties hindered the issuing of the royal decrees; without telling me a word, he left for Lisbon in order to sail from there for Goa as auxiliary bishop of the church there."⁴⁸

It is now quite evident that Benavides spent the period between the spring of 1630 and February of 1636 in Spain and Italy, engaged in an effort to stimulate further interest in the missions of New Mexico, in preparing the revision of his Memorial, and, perhaps not the least of his endeavors, in

46. Appendix xxii-A.

47. Appendix xxii-B and C.

48. Appendix xxiii.

aiming to arouse a sentiment favorable to the establishment of a bishopric in New Mexico—in which his interests were not entirely impersonal—an effort brought forward on a number of occasions for years afterward. Indeed, complaint was made in 1640 by the bishop of La Paz, formerly bishop of Puebla, that, without authority, “the Franciscan friars of New Mexico are using the bishop’s crosier and mitre, administering the sacrament of confirmation, and conferring ordinations in the minor orders. . . .”⁴⁹ Yet in a petition by Fray Juan de Prada, dated Mexico, September 26, 1638, in justification of what by some was regarded as usurpation of authority, he stated: “Not having a bishop in that country does not cause any detriment whatever to those Christians by depriving them of spiritual privileges, for in those provinces the custodian and prelate of the religious has plenary authority, granted by the apostolic grant, and repeatedly conceded by many briefs of the highest pontiffs. They [the custodians] are able to give absolution and to absolve in all cases in which the señores bishops are privileged to do so, and to administer the sacraments, even to that of the confirmation of the newly converted. . . .”⁵⁰

There seems to be no record of Benavides after his appointment as auxiliary bishop of Goa, in Portuguese India, of which there now appears to be no doubt. But, whether he succeeded to the dignity of the office of bishop on the death of the incumbent, as has been asserted, is a matter that has been brought into serious doubt by reason of the fact that, as mentioned by Rev. Dr. Thomas P. O’Rourke,⁵¹ Benavides’ name is not found in such recognized episcopal lists as Gam’s *Series Episcoporum* and Streit’s *Atlas Hierarchicus*.

Furthermore, a volume of *Actas*, from the Propaganda

49. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, III, p. 92.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

51. “Lest we be inaccurate in stating that Benavides was not appointed Archbishop of Goa, we wrote to the eminent Jesuit, Father Ernest Hull, editor of the *Bombay Examiner*, on the question. Father Hull replied: ‘I do not find the name of Benavides among the official lists of the See of Goa or Cochin, or Mylapore, as published in the *Indian Catholic Directory*. If he was connected with Goa, it could hardly have been as Archbishop.’” O’Rourke, “A Study of the ‘Memorial’ of Fray Alonso de Benavides,” in *Records*, American Catholic Historical Society, XXXIX (Sept., 1929), p. 259.

Fide, records on March 19, 1635, the death of the bishop of Goa, a Dominican not named. On December 10 of the same year, another *Acta* reports the election of Francisco de los Mártires as bishop of Goa, and Antonio de Barrios as coadjutor. A marginal note states that letters patent were issued for Father Barrios on January 1, 1636. Nothing further is said of the bishop, nor does the name of Benavides appear anywhere in these *Actas*.⁵²

52. Bibliotheca Classensis, #326. *Acta Propaganda Fide, 1635-1636*, Ravenna, Italy.

MEMORIAL

QUE FRAY IVAN
DE SANTANDER DE LA
Orden de san Francisco, Comissario General
de Indias, presenta a la Magestad Catolica
del Rey don Felipe **QVARTO**
nuestro Señor.

HECHO POR EL PADRE FRAY ALONSO
*de Benavides Comissario del Santo Oficio, y Custodio que ha
sido de las Prouincias, y conuersiones del
Nuevo-Mexico.*

TRATASE EN EL DE LOS TESOROS ES-
pirituales, y temporales, que la diuina Magestad ha manifestado
en aquellas conuersiones, y nueuos descubrimientos, por
medio de los Padres desta serafica Religion.



CON LICENCIA

En Madrid en la Imprenta Real. Año M. DC. XXX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MEMORIAL OF 1630

THE SPANISH EDITION

The Spanish edition of the Memorial, printed in 1630, bears the following title:

MEMORIAL | QVE FRAY IVAN | DE SANTANDER DE
LA | Orden de fan Francisco, Comiffario General | de Indias,
presenta a la Mageftad Catolica | del Rey don Felipe QVARTO |
nueftro Señor. | *HECHO POR EL PADRE FRAY ALONSO* |
de Benauides Comiffario del Santo Oficio, y Cuftodio que ha
| fido de las Prouincias, y conuerfiones del | Nueuo-Mexico. |
TRATASE EN EL DE LOS TESOROS ES- | pirituales, y
temporales, que la diuina Mageftad ha manifestado | en aquellas
conuerfiones, y nuevos defcubrimientos, por | medio de los
Padres desta ferafica Religion. | [*vignette and ornaments*] |

CON LICENCIA | En Madrid en la Imprenta Real. Año
M. DC. XXX.

COLLATION: Title as above, verso blank; letter of Fray Juan de Santander, pp. 1-5; text, pp. 5-107; note by Santander, pp. 107-10[9]. Pp. 15-17 are wrongly numbered 51-53; pp. 18-20 are represented by one page numbered 54; p. 60 is misnumbered 66, which is followed by pp. 65-68; p. 69 is misnumbered 99; p. 85 is misnumbered 87; p. 109 is misprinted 10.

Further evidence that the Spanish Memorial of 1630 was received with high favor, not only in Spain but throughout the civilized world, is indicated by the fact that within four years it appeared in four other languages.

FRENCH EDITION

In 1631, it was translated into French, by F. François Paludan, and published in Brussels with the following title:

REQUESTE | REMONSTRATIVE [*sic*] | AV | ROY D'ES-
PAGNE | SVR LA CONVERSION | du Nouveau Mexico |
Traduite de l'Eſpagnol en François par vn | Religieux de
l'Ordre de S. François. | [*Engraving*] |

REQVESTE

REMONSTRATIVE

A V

ROY D'ESPAGNE

SVR LA CONVERSION

du Nouüeau-Mexico

Traduite de l'Espagnol en François par vn
Religieux de l'Ordre de S. François.



A BRUXELLES,
Chez FRANÇOIS VIVIEN,
Au bon Pasteur derriere l'Hostel
de Ville. 1631.

Title page of the French edition of the
Memorial, 1631

A BRVXELLES, | Chez FRANÇOIS VIVIEN, | Au bon Pasteur
derriere l'Hofstel | de Ville. 1631.

SECOND TITLE: REQUESTE | REMONSTRATIVE | Que le Reuerendissime Pere, Frere | Iean de Santander, Commiffaire | General de l'Ordre des Freres Mi- | neurs des Indes, presente à fa Ma- | jesté Catholique d'Espagne Phi- | lippe IV. | *Par le Reuerend Pere* | Frere Alphonse de Benauides du mefme Or- | dre, Commiffaire de la Sainte Inqui- | tion, & Custode de la Prouince & | Conuerfion du Nouveau- | Mexico. | Où fe traicte des threfors, tant fpirituels, que | temporels, que la Majesté diuine a mani | festé en ladite Conuerfion, & nouuelle | defcouuerte, par l'entremise des Peres de | cet Ordre Seraphique des Freres Minuers [*sic*].

COLLATION: First and second titles as above, versos blank; Epistre of the translator (signed F. François Paludanus) "a Son Altesse Serenissime, Madame Isabelle Claire, Evgenie, Infante d'Espagne," 8 ll.; advertisement dv Traducteur au Lecteur, 2 ll.; text pp. 1-120. Benavides' signature appears as "Frere Alphonse de Benauides" at the end of the Memorial proper (p. 117).

The copy of the French edition in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, has a copperplate vignette on the title-page. The copy in the John Gilmary Shea collection of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., however, lacks the vignette, but in its stead is a frame apparently drawn with a pen. The facsimile figure here shown is from a photograph of the title-page of the John Carter Brown copy, kindly furnished by its librarian, Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth.

DUTCH EDITION

A Dutch edition was published at Antwerp, also in 1631, with the following title:

REQUESTE | OFT | VERHAEL | D'welck den Eerwerdichsten Pater | Fr. IOANNES DE SANTANDER | Commiffarius Generael der Min- | der-broeders Orden van Indien | prefenteert aen fijn Catholijcke | Majesteit van Hispanien Philippus | den IV. | Door den Eerwerdichsten | Pr. ALPHONSVS DE BENAVIDES | der felver Orden Commiffarius der H. Inqui- | fitie, ende Custos der Provincie ende Bekee- | ringhen van *Nieuw-Mexico*. | Waer in ghehandelt wort van de Gheestelijcke ende | eijtelijcke fchatten / die de Goddelijcke Majesteit ver- | openbaert heeft in de voorß. Befeeeringhen ende nieu- | we ontdeckinghen / door t'middel van de Patres deser | Seraphijcher Orden der Minder-broeders. | Met oorlof ghedruckt | *Tot Madrid inde Conincklijke Druckerije*. 1630. |

THANTWERPEN. | By Guiliam Vesteens / woonende inde Gooch- | strate | inden gulden Bellicaen. Anno 1631.

REQVESTE OFT VERHAEL

D'welck den Eerweerdichsten Pater
F. IOANNES DE SANTANDER
Commissarius Generael der Min-
der-broeders Orden van Indien
presenteert aen sijn Catholijcke
Majesteit van Hispanien Philippus
den IV.

Door den Eerweerdichsten
P. ALPHONSVS DE BENAVIDES
der selver Orden Commissarius der H. Inqui-
sitie, ende Custos der Provincie ende Beke-
ringhen van *Nieuw-Mexico*.

Waer in ghehandelt wort van de *Gheestelijcke ende*
ijdelijcke schatten / die de Goddelijcke Majesteit ver-
openbaert heeft in de voorsz. Bekeeringhen ende nieu-
we ontdeckinghen / door t'middel van de Pares deser
Heraphijcher Orden der Minder-broeders,

Met oorlof ghedruckt
Tot Madrid inde Conincklijke Druckerij. 1630.

T' HANTWERPEN,
By *Guilliam Lefteens / woonende inde Bosch-strate*
inden gulden Belluaren. Anno 1631.

Title page of the Dutch edition of the
Memorial, 1631

COLLATION: Title-page one leaf; "Voor-Reden," signed "Franciscus Paludanus, Provincial vande Provincie van Neder-duytsch-lant," dated Brussels, 2d March, 1631, 5 pp.; "Approbatie," 4 unnumbered leaves; text, pp. 1-86. This collation, together with the photograph of the title-page here reproduced in facsimile (p. 22), were kindly furnished by C. K. Fortiscue, Esquire, of the British Museum, who wrote: "The book, which is in excellent condition, was purchased by the Museum on the 8th of October, 1863." No copy of the Dutch edition is known to exist in America.

LATIN EDITION

The Latin edition, published in Brussels in 1634, was translated evidently from the French by Jean Gravendonc or Juan Gravenden, or Joannes De Cranendonck, or Cranedonc. It has probably been referred to more than any other edition of the work, and the abbreviation of the title by bibliographers has caused the belief that more than one Latin edition was printed. Following is the title from the Georgetown University copy:

RELATIO. | Quam | PHILIPPO IV. CA-|THOLICO
HISPANIARUM, | &c. REGI, per modum memorialis, five
Libelli | supplicis exhibuit Reverendifs. P. F. IOANNES | DE
SANTANDER, Ord. Fratrum Minorum, | Commiffarius Generalis
| Indiarum. | *Per manus* | Ad.^m R. P. F. ALPHONSI DE BENA-
DES, eiusdem Ordinis, Custodis Provin-|ciae & Converfionis Novi
MEXICO, | nec non Sanctæ Inquisitionis | Commiffarii. | *In qua*
agitur de magnis Thefauris fpiritualibus | & temporalibus, Deo
inspirante & adjuvan-|te, inibi detectis. | OPERA | FRATRVM
MINORVM, ORD. SE-| RAPHICI P. N. S. FRANCISCI. | *Imprefsa*
cum Approbatione, Hispanicè | Madriti in Typographia Regia,
An. 1630. | Latine verò | *Cum Facultate Superiorum.*

SALISBURGI, Typis Chriftophori Katzenber-|geri, Typo-
graphi Aulici & Academici. | Anno M. DC. XXXIV.

COLLATION: Title-page verso blank; letter from the translator (signed "Fr. Joannes De Cranendonck, Frater Minor indignus") addressed "Illustriſſimo, ac Reverendiſſimo Domino, Domino Paridi, Archiepiſcopo Salisburgensi, Apoſtolice ſedis Legato, S. R. I. Principi, &c.," pp. 3-6; præfatio ad lectorem. Neceſſariò præmittenda, pro intelligentia aliquorum in ſub-junctâ Narratione contentorum," ſigned 17. Auguſti, 1634. "Fr. Wolffgan-gus Högner, Miniſter Provincialis," pp. 7-12; text pp. 13-158. The Memorial proper, ſigned "Fr. Alphonſus de Benavides.," ends on p. 149.

Dr. Wagner (*op. cit.*, I, p. 231) expreſſes the belief that the Latin edition was probably translated from the Dutch. Bartlett has ſtated: "There is alſo a Latin translation by Jean

RELATIO.

. Quam

PHILIPPO IV. CATHOLICO HISPANIARUM,

&c. REGI, per modum memorialis, sive Libelli
supplicis exhibuit Reverendiss. P. F. IOANNES
DE SANTANDER, Ord. Fratrum Minorum,
Commissarius Generalis
Indiarum.

Per manus

Ad. m R. P. F. ALPHONSI DE BENAVIDES,
eiusdem Ordinis, Custodis Provinciae
& Conversionis Novi Mexici
nec non Sanctae Inquisitionis
Commissarii.

*In qua agitur de magnis Theauris spiritualibus
& temporalibus, Deo inspirante & adjuvante,
inibi detectis.*

OPERA

FRATRUM MINORVM, ORD. SERAPHICI P. N. S. FRANCISCI.

*Impressa cum Approbatione, Hispanicè
Madridi in Typographia Regia, An. 1630.
Latine verò*

Cum Facultate Superiorum.

SALISBURGI, Typis Christophori Katzenbergeri,
Typographi Aulici & Academici.
Anno M. D C. XXXIV.

Title page of the Latin edition of the
Memorial, 1634

Gravendonc, under the title 'Relatio . . . in qua agitur de magnis thesauris spiritualibus et temporalibus Deo adjuvante in Novo Mexico detectis.' Salisburgi. 1634. 8°."¹ This is evidently a mistake made in misinterpreting an abbreviated title in some catalogue. Nicolao Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum*, Romæ, 1672, t. 1, p. 1, gives the title: "Relationem de magnis Thesauris Spiritualibus & temporalibus Deo adjuvante in Novo Mexico detectis," the translation being attributed to Ioannis Gravendonc. Ternaux [-Compans], *Bibliothèque Américaine*, Paris, 1837, no. 558, notes the work under the title: "De magnis thesauris spiritualibus ac temporalibus in Nova Hispania detectis. Salisburgo. 1634, 8°."—the principal change being in Nova Hispania for Novo Mexico. Other attempts at recording the title of the Latin edition might be cited, but it is believed that they all represent copies of a single edition and that the verbal inconsistencies are due to abbreviation or to inadvertence.

The title-page of the copy in the John Carter Brown Library is here reproduced from a photograph kindly furnished by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth.

In 1633, John de Laet added a short abstract of the Memorial to the Latin edition of his *America*, first published in 1625 with the title: *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien . . . Door Ivannes de Laet.*—Leyden, 1625. Folio. The Latin edition has the titles: JOANNIS DE LAET / AMERICA / UTRISQUE / DESCRIPTIO. / and NOVVS ORBIS / SEU / DESCRIPTIONIS / INDIAE OCCIDENTALIS / . . . Lvgd. Batav. apud Elzevirios. A°. 1633. Folio. (Half-title and title versos blank; dedication "Caroli I. Magnæ Britanniae," 1 leaf; preliminary matter, 13 leaves; text, pp. 1-690; index, 9 leaves; 14 maps.) Cap. xxvi of Liber Quintus, pp. 315-316, is headed "Recentissima Novæ Mexicanæ descriptio, è commentariis Alfonsi de Benavides Franciscani." The description is a condensed summary of the geographical information in the Memorial, filling a folio page and a half, ending "Atque hæc compendio de cerpsi è relatione Alfonsi de Benavides Franciscani, Madriti typis expressa ano cIdo Id cxxx."

1. Information by Mr. George Parker Winship, former librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

The chapter also appears in the French translation of Laet: L'HISTOIRE / DV / NOUVEAU MONDE / OU / DESCRIPTION DES INDES / OCCIDENTALES, / Contenant dix-huit Liures, Par le Sieur JEAN DE LAET, d'Anuers; / . . . Leyde, cLo 15 cXL. Folio. (Title verso blank; 13 preliminary leaves; text pp. 1-632; table, 6 leaves; 14 maps. "*Nouvelle description de la Nouvelle Mexique, selon les Commentaires de Alfonso de Benauides, Cordelier,*" pp. 233-234.)

The Latin edition was reprinted in *Acta Ordinis Minorum* (4°), anno xiv, Florence, Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., 1895, and issued also in separate form (16°, 91+1 pp.) with the following title:

Relatio quam Philippo IV Catholico Hispaniarum Regi per modum memorialis sive libelli supplicis exhibuit P. Fr. Joannes de Santandèr Ord. Fratrum Minorum Commissarius Generalis Indiarum per manus A. R. P. F. Alphonsi de Benavides ejusdem ordinis custodis provinciae Novi Mexico nec non S. Inquisit. Commissarii [religious device].

Ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam ex typ. Collegii S. Bonaventurae—1895.

COLLATION: Cover title as above, verso blank; title as above, verso "Proprietas litteraria"; Lecturis salutem, signed Fr. Eusebius Fermendzin, M. O. Annalista Ordinis, pp. (3)-9, verso blank; Praefatio ad lectorem, signed Fr. Wolfgangus. Högner Minister Provincialis, pp. (11)-16; Memoriale sive libellus supplex, signed Fr. Joannes de Santandèr Commissarius Generalis Indiarum, pp. 16-19; Relatio Patris Alphonsi de Benavides, pp. (20)-84; index, pp. (85)-91, verso Cum approbatione ecclesiastica.

GERMAN EDITION

The German translation of Benavides bears no date, but as it was printed in Salzburg with the imprint of the publishers of the Latin edition, of which the title is virtually a translation, it has been ascribed to the year 1634. Following is the title from the John Carter Brown copy, a photograph of which was courteously supplied by Dr. Wroth:

RELATIO. | Welche Philippo. IV. König | in Hispanien, &c. R. P. F. Joannes de | Santander, S. Franciszi ordens / vber | Indien General Commissarius | Durch R. P. F. Alphonsum de | Benavides, desselbige Ordens / vber die Pro- | uinz des | Newbeferten Mexico Custoden / vnd | der heiligen Inquisition Commissarium | vbergeben lassen. | Darinnen

RELATIO.

Welche Philippo. IV. König
in Hispanien, &c. R. P. F. Ioannes de
Santander, S. Francisci ordens/ vber
Indien General Commissarius

Durch R. P. F. Alphonsum de
Benavides, desselbigt Ordens/ vber die Pros-
wing des Newbeferten Mexico Custoden/ vnd
der heyligen Inquisition Commissarium
vbergeben lassen.

Darinnen gehandelt wurde / von grossen/
Beist. vñ weltlichen Schätzen/ so selbiger Landt/
durch fleiß vnd getreue arbait der Wündern
Brüder S. Francisci ordens mittelst
Göttlicher hilff entdeckt worden.

Erstlich zu Madril/ in d'Königliche Buch-
ruckeren/ in Hispanisch / volgens in Latei-
nisch / anhero in hochteutscher sprach
nachgedruckt.

Cum licentia Superiorum

In der Erzbischofflichen Hauptstätt
Salzburg/ durch Christophorum Kagenber-
gern/ Hoff- vnd Academischen
Duchrucker.

Title page of the German edition of the
Memorial, 1634

gehandlet wirdt / von grossen / | Geiſt- vn weltlichen Schätzen / ſo
 ſelbiger Lande / | durch fleiß vnd getrewe arbeit der Mündern |
 Briidern S. Franciſci ordens mittelſt | Göttlicher hilff entdeckt worden.
 | Erſtlich zu Madril / in d'Königliche Buch- | trucherey / in Hiſpaniſch /
 volgenes in Latei- | niſch / an jezo in hochteutiſcher ſprach | nachge-
 truct. | Cum licentia Superiorum.

In der Erzbischofflichen Hauptſtatt | Salzburg / durch Chriſtopho-
 rum Raſenber- | gern / Hoff- vnd Academiſchen | Buchtruchern.

COLLATION: Title verso blank; "Vorted An den guthertzigenhessr"
 (signed "F. Wolfgangvs Hegner, Minister Provincialis"), pp. 1-10; text pp.
 11-130. The Memorial ends with the signature "F. Alphonsus Benavides"
 on p. 124.

OTHER TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS

Prior to its serial publication in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, California, from and including vol. XIII, no. 4 (Sept.-Oct., 1900), to vol. XIV, no. 3 (March, 1901), from the translation by Mrs. Ayer, with notes by Lummis and Hodge, only one attempt had been made to print the Memorial in English, notwithstanding its scarcity and its value to Americanists. The late Dr. John Gilmary Shea made use of the work in his writings pertaining to the history of the Catholic church in the United States, having in his private library the Spanish, Latin, and French editions, which are now in the Shea collection of the library of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. He made an incomplete and imperfect translation into English, the manuscript of which found its way into the possession of Dr. George Henry Moore of New York. In February, 1894, at the sale of Dr. Moore's books, the manuscript was purchased for the Lenox Library and was printed under the title "Memorial on New Mexico in 1626 [*sic*]. By Alonso de Benavides," in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November and December, 1899. Twenty-five copies of the translation were printed separately for private distribution.

The ethnological information in the Memorial was summarized by Albert Gallatin in his paper "Sur l'ancienne civilisation du Nouveau-Mexique, des bords du Rio Gila et des contrées voisines," in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, n. s., t. xxvii, Paris, 1851, pp. 303-309.

In 1900, the Memorial was republished in Spanish in the

city of Mexico, in modernized form, as Apéndice Segundo of tomo II of a *Historia de la Nueva México por el Capitán Gaspar de Villagrá. Reimpresa por el Museo Nacional de México con un Apéndice de Documentos y Opúsculos*. The title is here given as a specimen of the modernization in the typography which prevails throughout the work and through which much of the interest of the latter is lost:

MEMORIAL | QUE | FR. JUAN DE SANTANDER | DE
LA ORDEN DE SAN FRANCISCO, COMISARIO | GENERAL
DE INDIAS, PRESENTA A LA MAJESTAD | CATOLICA DEL REY | DON
FELIPE CUARTO | NUESTRO SEÑOR. | HECHO POR EL
PADRE FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, | COMISARIO DEL
SANTO OFICIO Y CUSTODIO QUE HA SIDO | DE LAS PROVINCIAS Y
CONVERSIONES | DEL NUEVO MEXICO. | TRÁTASE EN ÉL DE
LOS TESOROS ESPIRITUALES | Y TEMPORALES QUE LA
DIVINA MAJESTAD HA MANIFESTADO | EN AQUELLAS CONVER-
SIONES Y NUEVOS DESCUBRI- | MIENTOS POR MEDIO DE LOS PADRES
| DE ESTA SERÁFICA | RELIGIÓN. |

CON LICENCIA. | En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real. Año
M.DC.XXX. | REIMPRESO POR EL MUSEO NACIONAL
| En su Oficina Tipográfica. Año M.DCCC.XC.IX. | MÉXICO.

This Mexican edition of 1899 (actually published in 1900) is reprinted in Benjamin Maurice Read's *Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico*, app. 1, pp. 405-437, Santa Fe, 1911, and an English translation by Eleuterio Baca appears in the same author's *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, pp. 657-714, Santa Fe, 1912.

A German translation by Rev. Berard Haile from the English as it appeared in *The Land of Sunshine* was published in 1902-1903 in *St. Franziskus Bote*, Cincinnati, XI. Jahrgang, Juli 1902—Juni 1903, and XII. Jahrgang, Juli and August 1903, under the title "Missionswesen in New Mexico unter den Pionier-Missionären des Franziskaner-Ordens."

THE AYER TRANSLATION

What may be regarded as the definitive edition of the Memorial of 1630 was privately printed in Chicago in 1916, through the generosity of the late Mr. Edward E. Ayer, from a translation into English by Mrs. Ayer, with annotation by Fred-

erick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis. The titles are as follow:

THE MEMORIAL OF FRAY | ALONSO DE BENAVIDES | 1630 | *Translated by* | MRS. EDWARD E. AYER | *Annotated by* | FREDERICK WEBB HODGE | *and* | CHARLES FLETCHER LUMMIS | CHICAGO | PRIVATELY PRINTED | 1916.

SECOND TITLE: MEMORIAL | *Which* FRAY JUAN | DE SANTANDER OF THE | Order of Saint Francis, Commissary- | General of the Indies, presents to | His Catholic Majesty, the | King, Philip IV, Our Lord. | *MADE BY THE FATHER FRAY ALONSO | de Benavides, Commissary of the Holy Office and Custodian | that was of the Provinces and Conversions | of New Mexico. | IN IT ARE TREATED THE TREASURES | spiritual and temporal, which the Divine Majesty hath manifested | in those conversions and new discoveries by means | of the Priests of this Seraphic Order. |* [vignette and ornaments] |

BY AUTHORITY | In Madrid, at the Royal Press, in the year M. DC. XXX.

COLLATION: Half-title verso blank; title as above verso edition number (300 copies) and copyright notice; table of contents, pp. v-vii, verso blank; list of illustrations, pp. ix-x; introduction (signed Charles F. Lummis), pp. xi-xiii, verso blank; second title as above, verso blank; half-title, verso blank; translation of the letter of Santander to the King, pp. 5-8; half-title, verso blank; translation of the Memorial, pp. 11-74; translation of Santander's final comment, pp. 74-75, verso blank; half-title, verso blank; facsimile title of the Spanish edition, verso blank; letter of Santander to the King, pp. 81-85; text of the Memorial, pp. 85-181; Santander's final comment, pp. 181-183, verso blank; half-title, verso blank; notes by F. W. Hodge and Charles F. Lummis, chiefly by the former, pp. 187-285, verso blank; half-title, verso blank; index, pp. 289-309, verso blank; colophon, verso blank, 1 leaf. Forty photogravure plates, four plates of titles in facsimile. Pp. 81-183 are also in facsimile.

The original plates used in the illustration of the Memorial were presented by Mr. Ayer to the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

THE REVISED MEMORIAL OF 1634

At the time of the publication of the Ayer edition, the existence of a revised copy of the Memorial was not widely known. This important discovery had, however, been made, evidently by Professor Carl Russell Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, in his study of the Roman and other Italian archives in 1908 and 1909 under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. His *Guide*, published in 1911, listed a number of Benavides documents and aroused new interest in the subject. Soon the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of

America, obtained from the Propaganda Archives in Rome a photographic reproduction of the revised Memorial, dated February 12, 1634, comprising fifty-eight pages in the handwriting of Benavides and signed by him, as well as of additional collateral documents, which are now at the Catholic University. In the year 1938, the University of New Mexico and the School of American Research coöperated in sending Professor Lansing B. Bloom, of the University of New Mexico, to Italy to carry on certain investigations in the Vatican and other archives, and Professor Bloom on that occasion obtained photostatic copies of numerous Benavides documents, including the revised Memorial. These, together with the "Ayer Memorial," have been discussed to some extent and summarized by Dr. Martin Gusinde (*Ein zweites Memorial del Fray Alonso de Benavides, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Bd. LX, 186-190, Wien, 1930), and especially by Rev. Dr. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. III, no. 1, Washington, April, 1917. We quote at length from this article by a churchman, since it affords all the bibliographical information necessary to the present purpose.

"The relationship of the two Memorials [*i. e.*, the printed edition of 1630 and the manuscript revision of 1634] is not exactly definable. Probably the *Propaganda Memorial* is a revision of the *Ayer Memorial*; but, if so, the former does not supersede the latter. It supplements in a certain measure the printed book by the addition of some valuable biographical and ethnological data. The printed *Memorial* remains an historical source of the first order, but scholars who wish to use it should know of the supplementary redaction. One of Dr. Guilday's students—the Rev. Virgil G. Michel, O.S.B.—is preparing the 1634 *Memorial* for publication. The following description will aid the reader to judge the comparative value of these manuscripts:

"1. THE AYER MEMORIAL.—This is a printed copy, very probably abridged and mutilated by the Spanish publisher or by someone else, of a Report on New Mexico, presented by Father Benavides, Guardian of the Franciscan missions there, to Philip IV of Spain, on the occasion of his visit to the mother country in 1630. It has not the systematic treatment of the later *Memorial*. It omits the names of the missionaries as a rule, and contains only incidental references to their work. It is more of a physical geography than a history, and was written to encourage the king to assist the missionaries to develop the country. It contains considerable information about the natural resources of the land that is not found in the later work, but on the whole it is much briefer, less clear, and somewhat less valuable to the historian, since it not infrequently omits details that would

vouch for the authenticity of its statements. There is sufficient evidence of this in the notes of the commentators to the present edition, passing adverse judgment on certain passages, the apparent weaknesses of which are cleared up in the *Propaganda Memorial*.

"2. THE PROPAGANDA MEMORIAL of February 12, 1634.—This was written at the request of Pope Urban VIII, and is in the hand-writing and bears the signature of Benavides himself. It was prepared for the information of the Holy Father concerning the missions, and with a view to obtaining extensive new privileges and the confirmation of old ones. It therefore lays stress on the extent and hardships of the work, and on the number of martyrs. Evidently, Benavides had the previous *Memorial* (the Ayer edition) before him when he wrote, although, strangely enough, he makes no reference to it, while he mentions his *Historia* twice. (One mention of this work was made in the first *Memorial*: there he said that with the help of God he was trying to write it at that time.) The *Propaganda Memorial* has, on the whole, a more interesting style than its prototype. It follows the history of the missions, and presents the physical features of the country as incidents to that work. It should have great historical value on account of its unimpeachable authenticity, its critical spirit, its wide scope of facts, and its freedom from the restrictions of a contemporary publisher. It pays a silent tribute to the scholarship of the learned annotators of the Ayer *Memorial*, by verifying many of their conclusions, although at times there is a wide divergence from their interpretation of the first text. [58 pp.]

"3. RELAZIONE DELLE CONVERSIONE DEL NOVO MESSICO . . . April 11[2], 1634.—This is a summary, prepared by Benavides for the Propaganda, of his larger *Memorial* written for the Pope. It contains some details, however, that are not in the larger *Memorial*. It was poorly translated into Italian for Benavides, and signed by him. This suggests a Spanish counterpart that has not yet appeared, and points to the presence of Benavides in Rome at the time it was presented. [5 pp.] [See Appendix XIV.]

"4. RISTRETTO DELLA RELAZIONE . . . DAL PRE. BENAVIDES.—This undated document seems to be a synopsis of the brief Italian *Relazione* (No. 3 above). It was made apparently as a summary introduction to the request for privileges made by Benavides. All the matter contained in the body of the *Ristretto* seems to be contained in the *Relazione*, with the exception of the last part, which is taken from the Spanish *Privilegios para las Indias*, appended to the *Ristretto* (noted below, No. 7). [3 pp.] [See Appendix XXII-A.]

"5. RICORDO IMPORTANTE.—This brief document, which is made a part of the *Ristretto*, deals with the English and Dutch colonies on the Atlantic coast and contains interesting and useful information; and, since no Spanish counterpart to it has been found, it suggests again the presence of Benavides in Rome, and his active attendance at the offices of the Propaganda during the presentation of his requests. [1 p., including the following.] [See Appendix XXII-B.]

"6. VERIFICAZIONE.—This is a notarial appendix to the *Ristretto* for its authentication, and lists the testimonial letters presented by Benavides to the Propaganda. [See Appendix XXII-C.]

"7. PRIVILEGIOS PARA LAS INDIAS.—This undated document, in Spanish

and in the handwriting of Benavides, appears to be the complement of the *Relazione* (No. 3), and again suggests a lost counterpart to the latter. It requests the confirmation of previous privileges and the erection of the bishopric of Santa Fe. It suggests the date for the *Ristretto*, for it requests action before the end of June, when Benavides will sail for the Indies, and since the document which it supplements was presented on April 11 [2], the *Ristretto* must have been made shortly afterwards. [1 p.] [See Appendix xx-B.]

"8, 9, 10. These three documents, though still undiscovered, should be listed for the purpose of comparison. The first of these is the important *Historia* noted above (No. 2); the other two are the respective Spanish originals of the *Relazione* and the *Ricordo Importante*.

"The order of the documents in the Propaganda Archives is as follows: (1) The *Ristretto*, with its appendices, the *Ricordo Importante* and the *Verificazione*; (2) the *Privilegios para las Indias*; (3) the *Relazione*; (4) the *Memorial* of February 12, 1634. The chronological order of the whole series should be (1) the *Ayer Memorial*; (2) the *Historia*; (3) the *Propaganda Memorial*; (4) the Spanish original of the *Relazione*; (5) the Spanish original of the *Ricordo Importante*; (6) the *Privilegios para las Indias*; (7) the *Relazione*; (8) the *Ristretto*; (9) the *Ricordo Importante*; (10) the *Verificazione*."

In the quotation above, mention is made of the preparation, for publication, of the *Memorial* of 1634, by Rev. Virgil G. Michel, O.S.B.; but inquiry of Father Michel elicited the information that his labors were diverted to other subjects and that his project had been abandoned.

It is scarcely necessary to add to the above summary of the documents supplementary to the revised *Memorial* of 1634, for these, together with other pertinent accounts written in the seventeenth century, form the appendices of the present volume.

REQUESTE

REMONSTRATIVE

Que le Reuerendissime Pere, Frere
Iean de Santander, Commissaire
General de l'Ordre des Freres Mi-
neurs des Indes, presente à sa Ma-
jesté Catholique d'Espagne Phi-
lippe IV.

Par le Reuerend Pere

Frere Alphonse de Benauides du mesme Or-
dre, Commissaire de la Sainte Inquisi-
tion, & Custode de la Prouince &
Conuerſion du Nouveau
Mexico.

Où se traite des thresors, tant spirituels, que
temporels, que la Majesté diuine a mani-
feste en ladite Conuerſion, & nouuelle
descouuerte, par l'entremise des Peres de
cet Ordre Seraphique des Freres Mineurs.

§ 2

Second leaf, or supplementary title, of the
French edition of the Memorial, 1631

MEMORIAL
TO
HIS HOLINESS, POPE URBAN VIII,¹
OUR LORD,

RELATING TO THE CONVERSIONS OF NEW MEXICO MADE DURING
THE MOST HAPPY PERIOD OF HIS ADMINISTRATION OF THE
PONTIFICATE AND PRESENTED TO HIS HOLINESS BY FATHER FRAY
ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, OF THE ORDER OF OUR FATHER, SAINT
FRANCIS, CUSTODIAN OF THE SAID CONVERSIONS, ON
FEBRUARY 12, 1634

Most Holy Father:

Since the propagation of the faith and the conversion of souls all over the world have been entrusted to the order of the Friars Minor,² in imitation and example of the holy apostles, as the seraphic Francis did in his time—sending out his companions to preach in the most important parts of the world, there has now fallen to my good fortune the province of New Mexico, recently discovered. There the strength and efficacy of the divine word, preached with humility by the sons of the lowly Saint Francis (and where until now no other order or priests have entered), have worked in such a way that, during the happy period of your administration, to the honor and glory of God, our Lord, and your Holiness, not without the shedding of precious blood and the lives of many seraphic sons, more than five hundred thousand souls of barbarous Indians have been converted to our holy Catholic faith.³ Lacking the light of the gospel and blind in the darkness of their idolatry, they offered infinite souls to the devil in bloody sacrifices, even their own children; and in the very ferocious wars that they waged, countless numbers were slain; and they devoured one another.⁴

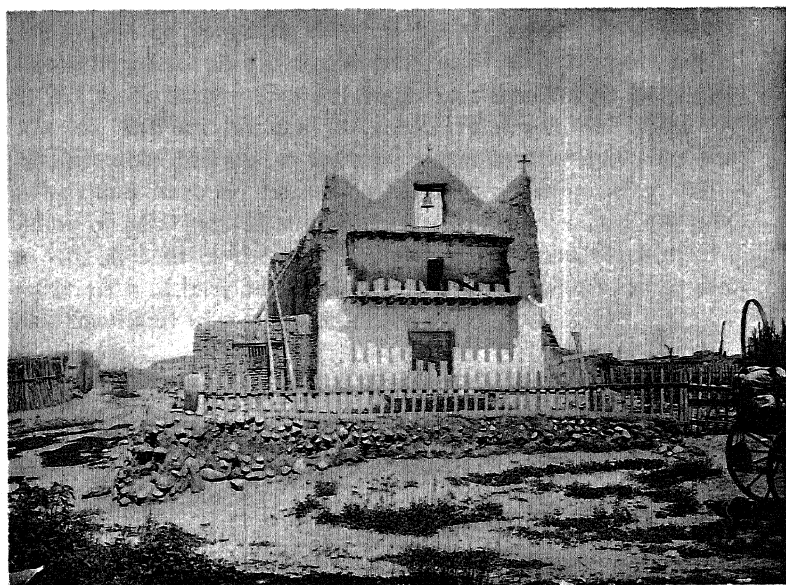
But, after many centuries in this unhappy state, the hour determined by divine will arrived when, all idolatry being

1. See the Editorial Notes beginning on page 223.

banished, one beholds there today only crosses, churches, and convents, all for the worship of our true God and Lord.⁵ Such rich treasures and plenteous harvests of souls should not be concealed from your Holiness. On the contrary, as to the true master and lord of that vineyard of yours, in the name of all its workers, I come to give account of and make known its very abundant fruits. Likewise, in the name of all those nations and kingdoms, their princes and elders, who now, as obedient sons of our holy mother church, desirous of rendering homage to her universal head, with great insistence and with most fervent wishes, begged me to accept this mission, so, as their prelate and minister and knowing them so well and they being unable to do it personally because of the great distance, I accepted, with great consolation to my soul, as I enjoyed the good fortune of being the first one, who, from those remote lands and unknown nations, was able to come, in the name of all of them, to render obedience to your Holiness. Thus, having established there [in New Mexico] the tribunal of the Inquisition, as its first commissary, and having put in good order all the affairs of the conversions, as their first custodian, disregarding all the obvious dangers of more than fifteen thousand miles of wanderings by land and sea, and traveling amongst numerous savage enemy nations, I consider my efforts well spent when I behold myself kissing the foot of your Holiness. Therefore, in conformity with my embassy, in the name of all those nations, their princes and lords,⁶ with all the humility I can express, I render your Holiness this homage, kissing your feet as the universal head of our holy mother church, beseeching you with all humility that the nations be accepted into her fold, in whose obedience they again do solemnly promise to live and die. Likewise, in the name of all those apostolic and seraphic sons, I offer your Holiness that new and primitive church, which, with so many labors, they have founded, asking as their reward the paternal and apostolic blessing of your Holiness and that you may deign to learn and acquaint yourself with the fruits of their labors, which are as follow:



a. THE CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA ASUNCIÓN DE SIA.
(Photo. by A. C. Vroman, 1900)



b. THE CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO DE NAMBÉ.
(Photo. by A. C. Vroman, 1900)

I

LOCATION OF NEW MEXICO

By the West Indies we understand what is today called America, which is surrounded and isolated by the sea on all sides, and which, from north to south, is five thousand leagues of longitude and more than one thousand of latitude, although through the center, almost like the sole of a shoe, it narrows so much that between Panama and Nombre de Dios or Puerto Bello,⁷ which are the two corresponding towns there, the distance from sea to sea is only five leagues. America is thus divided into two peninsulas: one to the south, which we call South America, toward Peru and Brazil down to the Strait of Magellan; and the other to the north, which we call North America, where lies New Spain. This on the east is bordered by the Atlantic ocean and on the west by the South sea, which extends to the shores of China. It is limited on the north by the Frozen sea [Arctic ocean], these two seas communicating by way of the straits of Anian and Avis, at sixty degrees north.⁸ In the center and middle, then, of North America there lies the region or peninsula of New Spain, where the discovery of the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico has been made. It lies more than twelve hundred miles northward from Old Mexico, and six hundred of these are desert, inhabited by innumerable Indians so barbarous and savage that they are naked and have no houses or agriculture, supporting themselves on all kinds of animals, which they hunt and eat raw, as will be told in the proper place. But, upon reaching the settlements of New Mexico, there are people who wear clothes and shoes and who are excellent farmers.

II

SEVERITY OF THE CLIMATE OF
THIS LAND

Since the center of New Mexico lies at a latitude of forty degrees and north winds always predominate in those regions, the snow remains on the ground most of the year and is the

cause of the intolerable cold in this land. Moreover, it becomes colder the farther north we go, but less so if we travel toward the west. The cold is so intense that during the months of November, December, January, and February all the rivers, both large and small, are frozen over so solid that iron-bound wagons, heavily laden, cross them, and vast herds of cattle go over them at full gallop. It has happened that the wine in a cask froze and remained solid without the hulk. To prevent the wine from freezing in the chalice, we have two braziers burning at each side of it. Every year people are found frozen to death in the fields.⁹

To the same extreme this land suffers from the heat during the months of June, July, and August, for even in the shade of the houses tallow candles and salt pork melt. From this inclemency one suffers more than from the cold, because there is no remedy from the heat, owing to the total lack of a breeze. Against the cold there are easy means of relief, on account of the great abundance of wood and the communal *estufas*. These are underground rooms which the Indians always keep warm by building fires in them.¹⁰

IIa

FERTILITY OF THIS LAND

Even though this land is subject to such extremes of climate, it is the most abundant and fertile of all the Indies. During the summer months the different kinds of trees produce naturally an infinite amount of fruit, on which the Indians depend for food.

The piñon¹¹ especially differs from that of Europe in foliage and cone, as the tree is small and the cones not much larger than an egg, containing thirty kernels, more or less; these are large and easy to crack and of better flavor. Thus a *fanega* of these is worth more than fifteen ducats in other regions. The whole land is filled with this kind of tree.

From the other seeds that are sown, both from native seeds as well as from those brought over from Europe, the land produces an incredible quantity. From one single *fanega* of wheat sown here, one often gathers more than one hundred

and twenty. In like manner one enjoys all kinds of vegetables, provided they are grown in the five warm months of the year, because later the frosts are so severe that they give the ground no chance to produce. There are vast ranges clad with all kinds of very tall building timber. Above all there are numerous deposits of silver, gold, and all other metals.¹²

The seaports within its borders, in addition to their importance for many private and new navigations, also contain in some instances amber, pearls, and coral.¹³ The rivers carry very large amounts of water and yield good and abundant fish.

The diversity of animals which this country produces is incredible: bears, lions, wolves, foxes, tigers, and all other species. Deer are countless; among them is a certain type which is as large as the largest of horses; some of these the Indians, for amusement, have harnessed to their carts, having raised them from little fawns. Cottontails and jackrabbits are inexhaustible, and they destroy the crops. Turkeys are limitless.¹⁴

Above all there abounds a species of cattle, different from ours, which they call *síbola*,¹⁵ and which does not resemble ours at all, or even the buffalo. Its hide is very woolly. These cattle multiply so freely by nature that, even with a great deal of slaughtering to sustain innumerable Indians, their numbers do not dwindle, but rather increase. For more than a thousand leagues the land swarms with these cattle.

As for our cows, horses, sheep, and other kinds of cattle that have been brought over from Europe already, they breed very profusely.¹⁶ Feathered game is extremely plentiful, as are all kinds of birds.

III

ORIGIN OF THE INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

Inasmuch as America, as well as the rest of the world, was submerged in the Great Flood, I leave the research as to whence it was peopled the first time to the many authors who discuss this subject and whom I quote in my history of these conversions. I only say that old Indians in that region of North America have an established ancient tradition from their an-

cestors that the region toward the South sea on the strait of Anian was peopled by the Chinese, and toward the east it borders near the island of Greenland, whence they affirm the first people came to settle what today we call the land of Labrador, as both lie beyond the 56th degree north.¹⁷ This is what I saw and understood from the old Indians in their own country, and it conforms to the documents which the Mexicans, their ancestors, have in very significant paintings of the events.¹⁸ These I have seen; originally they were in the archive of the convent of San Francisco in Mexico. This being so important, I must record it at this time.

North America was thus peopled on the one side by way of Greenland, and on the other by the Chinese or Japanese, which is the same thing. These people multiplied to such an extent that they became one great monarchy governed by one man only. This man had two sons, who, grown to manhood, their father not yet old, and being dominated by ambition and desire to govern, killed their father. Afterward, over the question as to who was to be the elder brother, they had so many wars and factions that they killed one another in large numbers. Although the devil, as instigator of this discord, had embroiled them in these wars against each other, he appeared personally to the faction called Mexicans and told them that he would lead them to the best land in the world, where they would not meet with any opposition, and that wherever he should appear unto them in the form of an eagle on a plant, which they call prickly pear, placed on a heap of stones, there they should settle because it was the very best land. Subsequently they set him up as their god and made an idol or statue of him with the name of the same devil, Huisilopustli.¹⁹

The other brother and his tribe, called the Teoas, were visited by another demon in a different guise, which was that of an old woman, very tall and extremely thin. Her mouth was large and filled with enormous fangs, which protruded; her breasts, sagging loosely, were long and flabby; claws on her hands, feet, and heels; her head covered with coarse, gray, matted hair. Most amazing of all, she carried on her head an enormous and terrible boulder of iron. She told them that since the Mexicans were leaving that land, she would

show them the boundary of theirs wherever she should drop that boulder and landmark.

Thus it was that these two factions traveled more than four hundred leagues from the lake of Copala, where they had first settled, to the valley which we now call Santa Bárbara.²⁰ There the infernal old woman dropped the boulder and said to the Teoas,²¹ who to this day still live in New Mexico, that their land extended to that point and that they should not go beyond it. The said boulder can be seen by everyone today. I have personally seen it several times. Stamped upon it are the marks of her claws, feet, and hands, as well as the nails of her hands, with which she appeared to have kneaded it as if it were of wax. Her very head with its tangled hair, upon which she had borne the globe, is there stamped. In the judgment of all those who see it, it is believed to weigh more than two hundred quintals, while others think that it weighs more. It is as wide as the largest wagon wheel and must be almost eight spans high. All those who travel back and forth from New Mexico see it, as has been stated. The horses used to shy at it and would not approach near by, but one of our friars, a few years ago, exorcised it and said mass over it, so that the horses lost their fear and today approach it without recoiling, even climbing over it.

The Mexicans wandered for forty years, settling in different places, but none satisfied them; they were always divided into factions and at war against each other, offering great human sacrifices to the idol, Huisilopustli, which was what he wanted. They arrived in the locality of Mexico, angered and weary from such long wanderings, although, after two hundred and fifty leagues, the devil appeared to them, as he had promised, in the shape of an eagle on a cactus growing in a heap of stones. On this occasion the sorcerous Indian priests saw the image of a Franciscan friar riding on the eagle. They did not know what that meant, but the devil, overwhelmed by his own sorrow, explained to them that a people of this kind would come to banish his worship from there.

After many centuries, when our first friars arrived to begin those conversions and banish idolatry, the Indians and all the people understood the mystery of the vision. Since then the

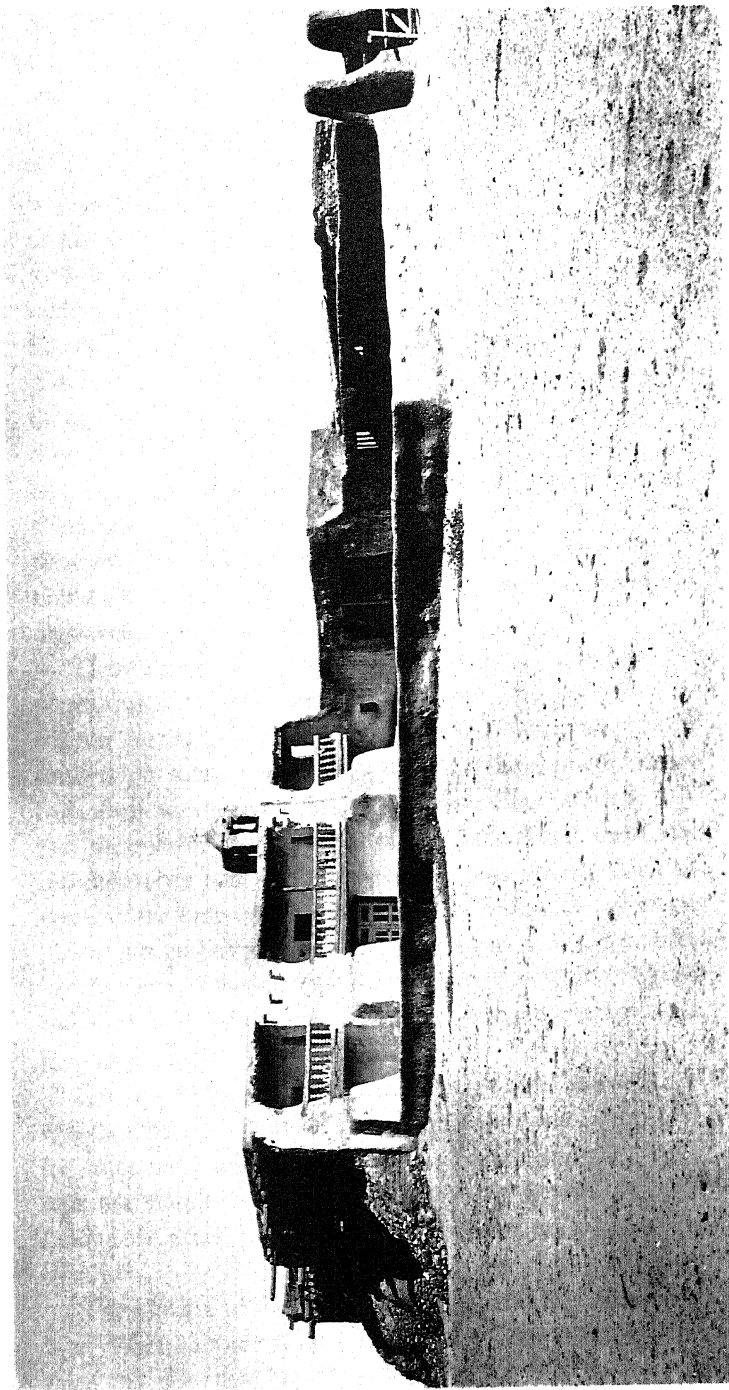
Mexicans have adopted this very vision as the emblem for all their banners: our father, Saint Francis, well-known now, riding on an eagle perched on a cactus growing on a heap of stones. The city of Mexico has adopted it as its coat of arms; and even we, the friars, glorying in this have had it painted on our doorways. But, leaving the Mexican nation at this point, I refer to the many histories which there are and which discuss at great length their conversion by our friars. I limit myself to speak only of New Mexico.

IV

rites of these pagans

The Teoas nation²² having thus become master of all the land which the devil designated for them with the iron ball, which extends from the south, where the ball rests, to the Frozen sea of the North [Arctic ocean], a distance of one thousand leagues, and from the east, that is, Labrador or coast of the codfish, across more than another thousand leagues to the coast of California, which is the South sea, they increased in such a manner that the whole land is teeming with people. However, lacking the light of the gospel, brought to them by our holy Catholic faith, they worshipped the devil with infinite superstitions and idolatries, bloody sacrifices, and devastating wars, even devouring one another. From this it resulted that many whole families separated, some going to settle wherever it seemed best to them. They went to very remote regions, and with this change of location, their native language also changed, and thus one finds very different languages throughout this land.²³

All these nations were divided, at the time of their paganism, into two factions: warriors and sorcerers. The warriors attempted to reduce all the people to their dominion and authority; and the sorcerers, by emulation and argument, persuaded them all that they were the ones who made the rain fall and the earth yield good crops, that they formed the clouds in the heavens, with that variety of colors which the sunset often gives them, and such other things, at which the warriors jeered greatly. This gave rise to civil wars among them, and



THE SANTA ANA CHURCH.
(Photo. by A. C. Vroman, 1900)

countless numbers were slain, whereby the devil reaped an abundant harvest.²⁴ The rites, idolatries, and ceremonies of both groups consisted always in making offerings. Whenever they went to war they offered meal²⁵ and other things to the scalps of the enemy nation which they had brought back as trophies of those they had slain. In this way they persuaded themselves that they would obtain great victories. If they went hunting, they would offer meal to the heads of deer, rabbits, hares, and other dead animals that they had in their houses, believing that this would enable them to catch much game. When they wanted to go fishing, they first offered meal to the river, hoping by this means to obtain a big catch. When they departed to the hills to gather wood, they took the feathers of their fowls, which we call turkeys, and in all the anthills along the road—and there are plenty of them—they offered these feathers, sticking them into the anthills.²⁶ They thought that, even if they passed through enemy land, these acts would help them to go and return with greater security.

There are at intervals along all the roads, in particular places, heaps of small stones which nature has formed in a curious manner, and wherever they find them, they place feathers on them. When they come to these places, weary from their journey or troubled with any other burden, they pull the root of any plant out of the ground and clean and rub themselves with it; then they place it between two of the stones in the heap, and by so doing they believe that they are liberated from hunger and weariness.²⁷ So great is their credulity that even if they become still more fatigued and famished and some see that their companions have died, not even then are they undeceived.

Fire they hold in high veneration.²⁸ It would be an endless task to attempt to describe all the different forms of idolatry, for from the house of only one old Indian sorcerer I once took out more than a thousand idols of wood, painted in the fashion of a game of nine pins, and I burned them in the public square.²⁹

The idolatry of the wicked women is amazing and ridiculous. When they are fat and lusty, if the men do not look on them and give them blankets, which is their main desire, they

go into the fields, and at a suitable spot they put up a stick or a stone, the very first thing they find that resembles a figure. This they set up as an idol, and to it they offer some small feathers, meal, and other things. Then they commence to fast and flagellate themselves and to drink the juice of an herb which they call *palmilla*,³⁰ which upsets their stomachs and makes them vomit violently. When they are so emaciated and feeble that they can hardly stand on their feet, then, resembling the devil himself, they reënter the pueblo, consoled and confident that every man who beholds them will crave them and give them many blankets and other presents. The devil has so ensnared and blinded them that, although they know by experience that not only do they not look inviting, but that men laugh at them, and oftentimes they die from this, not even then do they mend their ways.

Not less ridiculous and pitiful is that which was related to me by the old men of the Teoas nation. To choose a captain, they gathered in a plaza and tied the candidate to a pillar, and all flogged him with some cruel thistles; afterward they entertained him with farces and other games, making a thousand gestures to induce him to laugh. If with all this he remained serene and did not cry out or make any movement at the one or laugh at the other, they confirmed him as a very valiant captain and performed great dances in his honor.³¹ The ceremonies that they used at their weddings consisted of the bridegroom giving his bride a few or many clothes, according to the means of each one, and the bride giving him something to eat and bringing him an earthenware jar of water. Very rarely did it happen among these nations that they changed wives, and they never have more than one. She always commands and is the mistress of the house, and not the husband.³² All these nations are governed by the oldest captain of each nation, to whom the captains of each pueblo of the same nation are subordinated. Among these the most honored is he who fills the office of town crier. He goes forth with full authority, proclaiming in a loud voice whatever he desires to order. The women build the walls and houses; the men spin and weave and go to war.³³ Innumerable were the rituals with which the devil had ensnared this heathen people.

V

THE FIRST KNOWLEDGE WE RECEIVED OF
THIS NEW MEXICO

So many centuries having passed in this unhappy state, in which the devil tyrannized all these nations without any opposition, there arrived the fortunate hour and time when God, the Eternal, had determined that the light from heaven should descend upon them through the intervention and preaching of the seraphic sons [of Saint Francis]. After the great Cortés, Marquis of the Valley, had conquered the Mexican empire, he was soon followed by those twelve apostolic men of this seraphic order to whom, at the request of Emperor Charles V, his Holiness Adrian VIII, of glorious memory, had conceded full authority for those conversions and administrations. Like good workers, they cultivated that vineyard of the Lord so well that in those early days they alone baptized more than fifteen million Indians, as is recorded in the authentic histories to which I refer, and this number does not pertain to this Old Mexico, but to the New.³⁴ Eager to propagate the faith, they asked the Indians whence they had come to settle that land; to this they replied what is already narrated in paragraph III, "The Origin of the Indians of New Mexico." At this time Father Fray Marcos de Niza, provincial of my order, was preaching apostolically in the province of Xalisco, whose natives gave him the same report, as did also some Spaniards, who, driven from the coast of Florida, had crossed the country and arrived in New Mexico,³⁵ and who agreed with what the Indians said of the innumerable nations that inhabited those regions. So the venerable father communicated with the invincible Cortés, and, both being desirous that our holy Catholic faith should be preached there, the father set forth with a company of soldiers and after many hardships went [far enough] to see the first settlements of New Mexico, which are those of the Pira [Piro] nation. Because of their great resistance, however, they again returned to Mexico, after having given the first information of our holy faith.³⁶

VI

MARVELOUS DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO

In the year 1540, General Francisco Vázquez Coronado, with four hundred soldiers, set out on the discovery of New Mexico, taking in his company the venerable father, Fray Marcos de Niza, and four companions. They made this journey by way of the province of Xalisco; and, having traveled more than two hundred leagues toward the South sea, they traversed some big settlements, in the following order:

VII

VALLEY OF SEÑORA [SONORA]

Marching eighty leagues northward from these settlements, always keeping close to and following the coast of the South sea, one arrives at the valley of Señora, so named by the Spaniards because of a special incident. It is sixty leagues long, ten wide, and very flat. Its center is watered by a large river. The land is fertile for farming and is settled with many pueblos. The first one had six hundred houses, very well arranged. They were built of very stout reeds and well covered with matting of palm leaves; so they were very pleasing to the eye, being in a delightful land, well wooded, and with a good climate. They had some houses of adobe for the storage of corn and other vegetables. They gave this pueblo the name of Corazones, on account of the many hearts of deer that the Indians offered the Spaniards there.³⁷

Six leagues farther on in the same direction is another pueblo called Agastán,³⁸ which is larger than the former. There are all through this valley many different pueblos, but the principal one, which is where the cacique and chief lord resides, consists of some three thousand houses, well built and attractive. And, as in all the others, they have their peculiar temples of idolatry and sepulchers where they bury their important personages.

VIII SIBOLA

Fifty leagues beyond the last pueblos of this valley of Señora, still going northward, is the province of Síbola.³⁹ Its principal city is surrounded by seven others. The first one must have one thousand houses, and the others many more. These were built of stone and wood and were of two, three, and four stories in height. They are very attractive with their flat roofs; the streets and plazas are well planned and strong.

IX TIHUES

Traveling two more days in the same direction one reaches the province of Tihues,⁴⁰ which considerably surpasses the one just visited in the beauty and strength of its buildings. The first and principal city of this province is also called Tihues. It must have four thousand houses, all very large, in each of which more than ten people could live. The houses all have terraces and very high towers; the houses are very attractive on account of their corridors; all communicate with one another by means of passageways built over the streets. This city lies in a plain on the banks of a very pleasant river; it is surrounded with walls of stone and gypsum, for they do not use lime.

Half a league from this city is another one, also close by the river. It must have three thousand houses; here the cacique keeps his wives, as the nations in this region have more than one wife.⁴¹ This city is very strong and beautiful. Most of the houses are built of stone. There were twenty settlements like this, some larger and some smaller. At this place the river measures a good arquebus shot across, and it appears to be the one we call Tisón.⁴²

X MARVELOUS PENOL

Two days from Tihues toward the west there is a city, the most amazing in strength and location that could be found

in the whole world.⁴³ It has, to all appearances, more than two thousand houses, in which there must be more than seven thousand inhabitants. It lies in some plains of fifteen leagues, in the center of which there is a peñol which appears to be more than one thousand *estados* high. The top of it forms a plain of more than a league in extent, flat, with neither trees nor any obstruction. Here the city is built. On top, in this plain, they have some fields, as they do also at the foot of the rock. This peñol is completely surrounded by rock cliffs so smooth and upright that it is admirable to behold. It has only one ascent and entrance, which starts at the bottom and is carved out by hand, on account of its windings. It has landings at certain intervals, so that two can pass if by chance they happen to meet, for the rest of it is so narrow that there is room for only one. On top, the city has its large cisterns and reservoirs, which provide plenty of drinking water for the whole year. Lastly, the city is impregnable, both through stratagem and nature, and it is very pleasing to behold.

XI

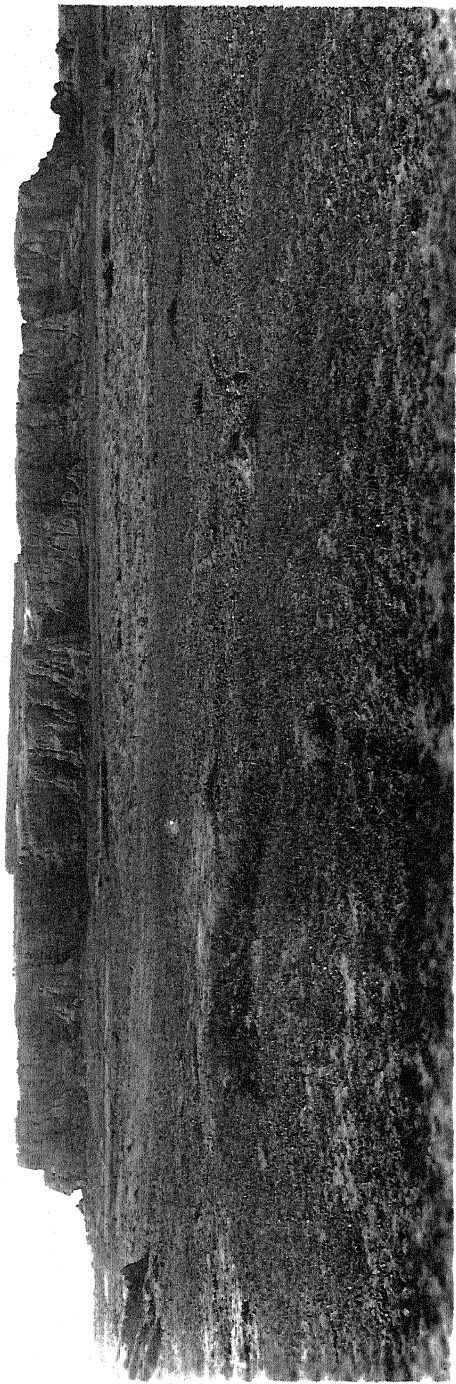
TUZAYAN

On the same road toward the west, on the coast of the South sea, eighty leagues from Tihues, there is a province which is called Tuzayán, which has up to thirty pueblos with good houses, although not as fine as the ones mentioned above.⁴⁴

XII

CICUIO

Turning to the north from the city of Tihues, at three or four days' journey, there is a plain which extends six leagues, all covered with tilled fields, between pine groves and great forests, where there is a large city called Cicuio.⁴⁵ It must have more than six thousand houses, six and seven stories high. It is a very handsome city on account of its many towers.



THE MESA OF ACOMA WITH ITS ROW OF HOUSES ON THE SUMMIT.
(Photo. by C. F. Lummis about 1900)

XIII

WESTERN QUIVIRA

Fifteen days' journey from Tihues toward the west one reaches the kingdom of Quivira, where there are many large towns whose houses are covered with straw. Here in the west this kingdom has the name of Quivira, and there is another of the same name in the east, unless it should be that it is so large, as I am inclined to think, that it reaches from one place to the other. The riches which nature produces in this land, both in minerals and fruits, are unbelievable.⁴⁶

Here he took the latitude and found that he was at 34 degrees, and having tidings of the settlements of New Mexico, which lay to the right, he went forth in search of them. The venerable father, Fray Marcos de Niza, having preached our holy Catholic faith and, together with his companions as they passed through, having brought the first news of God to all those settlements where there were innumerable souls, thus reached these first provinces and pueblos of New Mexico, which are those of Zuñi and Moqui. Here they got reports of the great riches of Quivira and the infinite number of people living there. The venerable father was eager to go there to preach our holy Catholic faith, but he was frustrated, as the viceroy recalled the general and his army, though the palm of martyrdom was reserved for him there.

XIV

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER PROVINCIAL, FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA

The blessed father, Fray Marcos de Niza, finding himself there, sent two of his companions back with the army, while he and two others remained among those nations, since so many people were blinded in the darkness of idolatry; and, because he opposed it, they martyred him in the pueblo of Síbola. Thus he deserves the palm as the first martyr of New Mexico, as he was also its first discoverer.⁴⁷

XV

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHERS,
FRAY JUAN DE PADILLA AND FRAY JUAN
DE LA CRUZ ⁴⁸

The blessed fathers, Fray Juan de Padilla and Fray Juan de la Cruz, preaching ministers, followed in the footsteps and fate of their companion and prelate, the venerable Fray Marcos de Niza. Having been told of the great harvest that they could reap among the infinite souls in the great city of Quivira, they consecrated themselves to the Lord in order to go and preach to them the word of the Lord and to enlighten them in the midst of the darkness of their idolatry. They took along two Mexican Indian lay-brothers and a Portuguese soldier, who with willing spirit accompanied them on the way.

Going eastward by easy journeys they came within sight of the great city of Quivira, where the Indians had already received word of the purpose that animated these apostolic men. To hinder them, the Indians came out to meet them with evil intentions. Recognizing this fact, the blessed father, Fray Juan de Padilla, with the ardor of his great charity, disregarding the personal danger which threatened him, and, like his master Christ, solicitous for the safety of his disciples, told the soldier that he and those poor young lay-brothers should try to escape on the one horse he had brought, while he and his companion would halt the fury of the tyrants who were now advancing at full speed. This they did, and from a short distance they beheld the blessed fathers on their knees and the Quiviras cruelly putting them to death. The fathers gave up their lives, preaching our holy Catholic faith. The soldier and the two Indian lay-brothers carried back the news as eye-witnesses. They had seen that land taken possession of in the name of our holy mother church with the blood of three friars of Saint Francis who deserved to be the first martyrs in this land and the first to water with their blood the divine word which they had preached.

XVI

EXPEDITION INTO NEW MEXICO OF THE
BLESSED FATHERS, FRAY FR. LOPEZ, FRAY
JUAN DE SANTA MARIA, FRAY AGUSTIN
RUIZ ⁴⁹

With such good cornerstones as these three blessed martyrs, the building of this new church was started. But the divine majesty, by His secret judgments, which are inscrutable, kept it silent for a period of forty years, until the year 1581 when the blessed Fray Agustín Ruiz, lay-brother of this seraphic order, while preaching our holy Catholic faith among the Conchos and Tobosos Indians, that is, in the valley of Santa Bárbara, the farthest point reached till then in that region of New Spain, and two hundred leagues north of Mexico, was told by those Indians that, following the same direction to the north, there were many towns and nations. They pointed in the same direction where the three blessed fathers, Fray Marcos de Niza and his two companions, had been martyred. God, our Lord, inspired him with ardent zeal to take up the work of his martyred brothers by preaching as they had done. Thus he departed for Mexico and with great insistence began to promote this expedition. After overcoming the terrible difficulties which the devil set up for him to defend his empire, the viceroy granted him, in response to the mandate which there exists from the Catholic kings that all necessary things should be supplied for these conversions, as is done with great punctiliousness, twelve soldiers as an escort, as well as all that was needed for him and for two other friar priests, who were great theologians. One, Fray Francisco López, was chosen prelate of the two; the other, Fray Juan de Santa María, was in addition a great cosmographer. The viceroy, recognizing the ability and courage of the blessed Fray Agustín Ruiz, gave him a signed blank order so that he might designate therein the one whom he wished to serve as commander of the soldiers who were to go with him; to this leader all were to be subordinated.

They left Mexico and arrived in the valley of Santa Bárbara—the two hundred leagues we have already spoken of—where they made preparations to go forward, according to the information they already had. They continued on their way toward the north with dependable guides as far as the Rio del Norte, which is very famous, a distance of one hundred leagues, and crossed it. This route is traveled even today at great risk because it is inhabited by the most savage nations of the Indies, the Tobosos, Tarahumares, Tepeoanes, Tomites, Sumas, Hanos,⁵⁰ and many others, indomitable and very ferocious. These people always go about absolutely naked, having neither dwellings nor fields of any kind. They sustain themselves on wild fruits and what they hunt, which consist of all kinds of animals, even toads, vipers, and snakes, and all this they eat raw. This keeps them roaming from one sierra to another without fixed residence.

These nations are wont to wage great wars over hunting districts and gambling, slaying and devouring each other.⁵¹ Their weapons are bows and arrows, which are general among all Indian nations. The ferocity of these Indians has never given an opportunity for their conversion, for, having no permanent abode, it is extremely difficult to attempt their conversion because today we see them in one place and tomorrow they move on to another so remote that we never see them again. Thus, great are the perils which are ever present, and the blessed fathers and their soldiers suffered much and escaped miraculously from their hands.⁵²

XVII

MANSA NATION OF THE RIO DEL NORTE

Having traversed these one hundred leagues, the Spaniards arrived at the river which we call del Norte, because its course flows from thence. It is inhabited by a nation we call Mansos.⁵³ They, too, are savage Indians like the preceding ones, and also naked, except for the women, who wear two deerskins, one in front and one behind. They are a voracious people and great eaters. They sustain themselves on fishes from that river, which are plentiful and good, devouring them raw, just

as they do the meat of all the animals they hunt, not leaving even the blood. As for the entrails, they do not even take much trouble to clean them; they devour it all like animals. They are a robust people, tall, and with good features, although they take pride in bedaubing themselves with powder of different colors which makes them look very ferocious. As this is a unique ford, the friars have crossed over so many times that these Indians already desire to become Christians.

I cannot refrain from telling at this time what happened to me the first time I passed through this nation. Some Indians took me to their ranchería and, after having regaled them with bells, rattles, feathers, and beads of different colors, for the Catholic king orders that we be furnished with things of this kind so that we may convert them peacefully and that they will gladly hear the word of the Lord from us, I made a cross the length of a lance and set it up in the center of the ranchería. Then, as best as I could, I explained to them that if they worshipped this holy symbol with all their hearts they would find therein the aid for all their needs. Falling on my knees, I kissed it. They all did the same. With this my soul was comforted greatly, for it was the first cross that they adored in this place. Among others, there came an Indian woman with a toothache; with much devotion she held open her mouth with her hands and put her teeth close to the holy cross. Another, in the pains of childbirth, touched the holy tree with her body. From the comfort and joy with which they departed, I have great faith in the divine majesty who would work there His miracles in confirmation of His divine word, without considering the unworthiness of the minister who preached it. The devil speaks in person to this nation in diverse disguises, but the blessed fathers came out of it unharmed, although amid great dangers.

And with the news which the Spaniards again received there regarding the settlements of New Mexico, they proceeded on their journey in the same direction to the north through many rancherías of this savage nation amid great risks.

After traveling fifty leagues, they came to the Apache nation, which encircles New Mexico, and of which a special study

will be made, since it is so great and interesting a nation. Having journeyed another fifty leagues beyond it, they reached the first settlements of New Mexico, which belong to the Piros Indians. Wherever they passed they brought the first light of the divine word. On traversing another fifty leagues, they reached the nation of the Tioas, a nation of many settlements and houses, clothed people and excellent farmers, but very savage and great sorcerers. Nevertheless, they were well received by them through the affability and great kindness of the friars, who began at once to heal their sick and give them the light of the holy Catholic faith. The twelve Spaniards, seeing so many people, thought it imprudent to remain there any longer, and so they decided to return to Mexico by the same route to inform the viceroy of the great things they had seen.⁵⁴

XVIII

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER, FRAY JUAN DE SANTA MARIA

When the Spaniards returned to Mexico, the three blessed fathers remained among those Indians as they had found what they wanted, namely, a kingdom where to preach the evangelical law and to banish idolatry. Father Fray Juan de Santa María, observing the docility of the people, trusting in them and especially in God, and seeing that the harvest was great and the laborers so few, resolved to return to Mexico alone to get more friars for such a holy task. As he was a very good cosmographer, he mapped out a different route, shorter, he thought, than the one over which he had come. After traveling eight or ten leagues to the pueblo which today we call San Pedro, and having preached there our holy Catholic faith, these Tioas killed him and burned his body. Thus his road to Mexico was cut short, and he took the one to heaven, a fitting reward to those who die in such a service.⁵⁵

XIX

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER,
FRAY FRANCISCO LOPEZ

After the death of the blessed father, Fray Juan de Santa María, the blessed fathers, Fray Francisco López and Fray Agustín Ruiz, remained in the pueblo of Pueray [*sic*] of this province of the Tioas, preaching the divine word. The blessed father, Fray Francisco López, went out into the field, praying, and at the distance of an harquebus shot he saw a group of Indians, seated, who were at that moment scheming how to harm the blessed fathers because they opposed their idolatry. He advanced toward them in all meekness, but at the first words he spoke concerning their salvation, one of them armed with a *macana*,⁵⁶ which is a weapon of flint, smashed his head with terrible blows while the others shot him with arrows, so that he soon rendered up his soul unto the Lord, to whom he offered himself on that occasion.

There were not lacking friendly Indians who at once warned the blessed father, Fray Agustín Ruiz, his companion. He, with natural grief, rushed there and brought him to the pueblo and buried him in its plaza at the foot of a cross which had been erected there.⁵⁷

XX

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER,
FRAY AGUSTIN RUIZ ⁵⁸

One can well believe that when Fray Agustín beheld the great spectacle of the holy prelate being torn to pieces, he must have held tender and devout discourses with God, our Lord, now that he found himself alone among so many idolatrous enemies, separated from Christian lands by four hundred leagues. But, gaining from this a new spirit and piously jealous of the good fortune of his saintly prelate, he reprimanded the sacrilegious tyrants for that terrible iniquity, and then, with several Indian friends, he went a league away to a pueblo, now called Santiago,⁵⁹ where, while preaching apostolically

the divine word, they killed him and threw his body into the Rio del Norte, which flows along the edge of this pueblo. Thus he obtained the palm of martyrdom for which he had envied his holy prelate. Since several years now passed without anyone entering that land, no trace could be found of the remains of the blessed fathers, Fray Juan de Santa María and Fray Agustín Ruiz; but the cruel Indians of the pueblo of Pueray [*sic*] themselves, after becoming Christians, revealed where the body of the blessed father, Fray Francisco López, was buried. Later we found him, buried as Father Agustín Ruiz had laid him to rest, the cloth still tied around the wounds of his head. Now we have placed him in the convent of San Francisco de Sandía,⁶⁰ the principal pueblo of this same Tioas nation, truly venerated and honored by these Indians. They erected a chapel for him on the spot where he was martyred and painted his picture in it.

This is how the first information of New Mexico was revealed and the first conquest of these souls undertaken in two different localities. Six friars of Saint Francis were the first to water with their blood and lives the word of God which they planted in that vineyard of the Lord. When their martyrdom became known in New Spain, it caused very fervent desires in many to imitate them. And thus, in the following fifteen years, three other expeditions were made to that land by our friars who attempted to subdue and subjugate it all unto the mild yoke of the church through their preaching. But they always met with such violent obstacles that they were forced to return to Mexico. Finally, in the year 1596,⁶¹ there was established for once what is today being continued, as narrated herein.

XXI

PACIFICATION OF NEW MEXICO

Having informed the Catholic king of the infinite number of people living in those regions in general idolatry and in adoration of the devil and how six seraphic sons⁶² had already won the palm of first martyrs for bringing there the first light of our holy Catholic faith, the Catholic king, Philip III, with

great Christian zeal, ordered his viceroy in Mexico, with adequate justification, that he should endeavor to give our friars all that was necessary for the pacification and conversion of those lands. This was well executed, for in the said year there was named as adelantado and founder of those kingdoms, Don Juan de Oñate, a gentleman who descended from the Emperor Montezuma and the Marquis of the Valley. He was well qualified for these conversions, for he was a good Christian and endowed with all the prudence and ability demanded for such an enterprise. He assembled an army of seven hundred Spaniards, representing all trades, about half of them married men who brought their wives and children. He took along such a large train of breeding animals that, with wagons and pack-animals, they spread over the road for more than a league. With them went twelve seraphic, apostolic preaching priests, and some lay-friars and lay-brothers, all of saintly life, as was suitable for establishing that church. Thus, unanimous and in harmony, they marched a whole year across those four hundred leagues amid great hardships, opening and searching for roads for the wagons and the army, traveling with the caution that was needed in passing through so many savage nations, as has been told.⁶³

The adelantado, with his customary prudence and good management, in order not to frighten or drive away the Indians at the sight of such a great train, went on ahead with a few reliable soldiers and with the venerable father commissary of that apostolic mission, Fray Alonso Martínez, and his companion, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, both very good theologians. On the eve of St. John's day of the year 1597 [1598], they arrived at the province of the Piros, which is the first settlement in New Mexico. Here the devil, in order to hinder the expedition, unloosened such a terrific hailstorm and tempest that they thought themselves lost but for the exorcism of the church which the blessed fathers performed with a crucifix in their hands. The storm immediately subsided, to the amazement of the Indians as well as the Spaniards. The missionaries were well received and preached the word of the Lord to them. Advised of the army that was following, they cheerfully allowed it passage until the Spaniards found

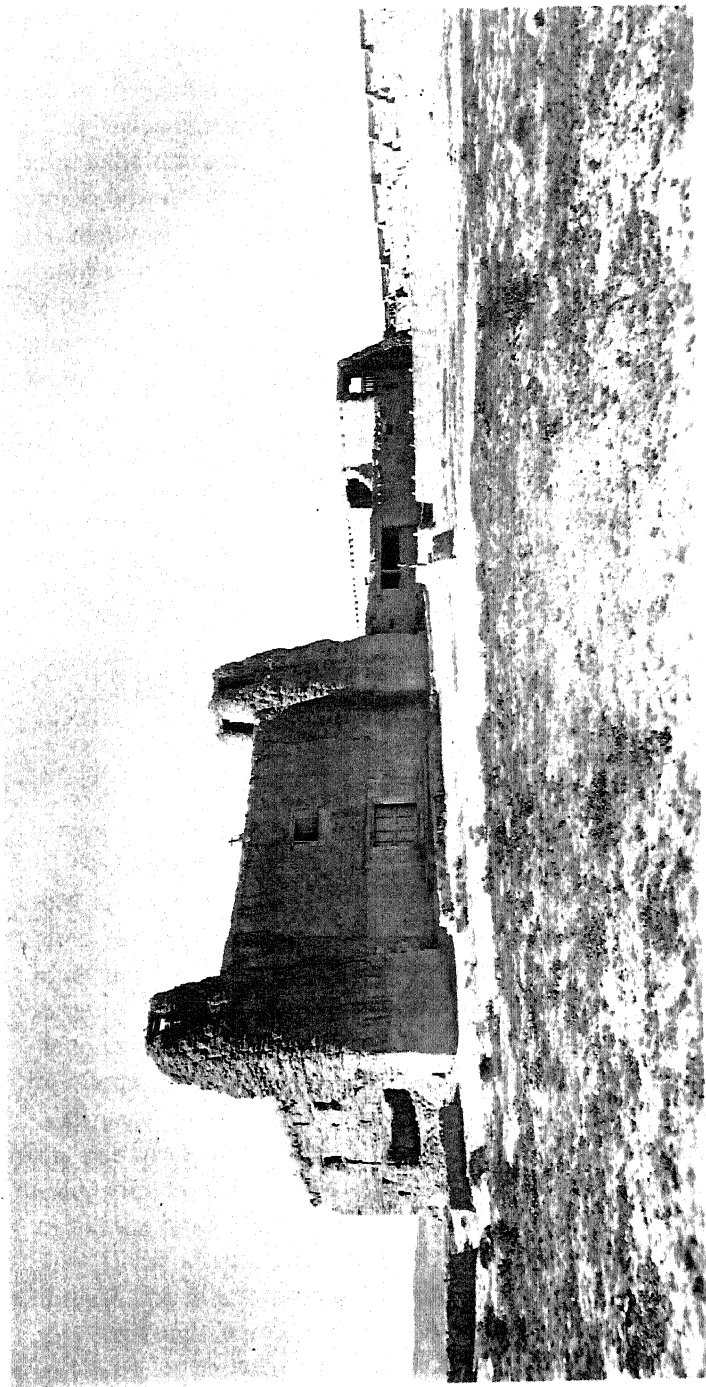
the most suitable location for their foundation and settlement. They went through the pueblo of Pueray [*sic*], where they saw painted in a passageway the martyrdom of the blessed father, Fray Francisco López. They thought it good policy, however, not to take notice of it then so as not to excite those whom they had come to convert and pacify.⁶⁴

XXII

MIRACULOUS BEGINNING OF BAPTISM

The army went on through all the pueblos and nations that lie upstream on the Rio del Norte, of which I shall give a special description further on in its proper place. They came to a pueblo of the Teoas nation called Oque,⁶⁵ to which they gave the name of San Juan de los Caballeros, where they decided to halt and settle, as the land and the people seemed very suitable to them. While resting there from their past hardships, they suddenly heard an outcry by the whole pueblo, accompanied by such great lamentations that it caused much anxiety and wonder among our people. When we learned the reason, it proved to be that it had not rained for a long time and their crops were drying up on account of the prolonged drought. So the good father commissary told them publicly through the interpreters not to be afflicted, to worship the Lord, God, and Creator of all things, as He was the one, and not the idols, who could give them water, and that he could assure them on behalf of God that He would send them rain. The Indians believed him, and the blessed father commissary and his friars, together with all the Christians, offered prayers and invocations to this end. They asked the divine Majesty to perform there His miracles for the conversion of that people, who did not know Him, and for the beginning of the church which they were going to found. It was remarkable, for, while the sky was as clear as a diamond, exactly twenty-four hours after the outcry had gone up, it rained almost throughout the land so abundantly that the crops recovered in good condition.⁶⁶

Through this miracle that whole pueblo was converted. The father commissary baptized the most important Indian



THE ACOMA CHURCH OF SAN ESTEVAN.
(Photo, by C. F. Lummis about 1900)

man and woman, to whom the adelantado was the godfather, and Father Fray Cristóbal de Salazar baptized twenty-three others; the other friars baptized all the remaining people, whose godparents were the captains and the important persons in the army. In this manner the baptism of this kingdom, sought for so many years, was commenced. For this occasion the adelantado ordered some very solemn festivals, and immediately a fairly good-sized church was built there. The Indians of this Teoas nation, and in particular those of this pueblo, pride themselves very much on being the first baptized Christians, and they preserve as a patent of nobility the page of the baptismal book that contains this record, together with the signature of the adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, of the father commissary, Fray Alonso Martínez, and his companion, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, and of the godparents and the baptized. Wherefore this nation precedes in honor all the others of this kingdom.⁸⁷

XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONS TO THE
FRIARS

With the same good will that had prevailed in the past, a meeting was held, attended by the father commissary and all the friars, the adelantado, the captains, and other leading men of the army. They discussed the steps that should be taken to commence the general conversion and pacification of all that land, without considering other interests than the salvation of souls. It was decided that the first move should be to assemble all the Indian caciques and captains in order to inform them of this plan. The day having been set by the adelantado, all the leaders of the other nations gathered in the pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros. Here the adelantado, with his sympathetic understanding, endeared himself to them as much as he could. The blessed father commissary, Fray Alonso Martínez, with heavenly ardor explained to them through the interpreters the blindness of idolatry in which they lived and their duty to know and worship our true God and Lord, as creator of all things, and the punishment that

awaited them if they failed to do so, and also the glory they would miss; [he explained] that the Catholic king at great cost had sent the friars solely for this purpose and to point out and teach them in all charity the path of their salvation; that the missionaries, on behalf of God as His ministers, came solely for this; that the law they proposed to them was so mild and delectable that after they understood it they would consider themselves very fortunate to have merited it. He spoke of this, and, with many other apostolic arguments appropriate to the occasion, talked to them with ardent zeal. The Indians, when they understood it, conferred among themselves; and, the virtue and efficacy of the divine word working in them, they asked that the Spaniards send some one to their pueblos who could explain and preach this new law, and that when they recognized that it was better than the one they were keeping, they would accept it and become Christians. This caused great satisfaction and rejoicing, for it was a good beginning to what the Spaniards had earnestly desired for so many years. They held some very solemn festivals for the occasion, by which the Indians became very friendly toward the Spaniards, whereupon this task was forthwith entrusted to the divine word through whose virtue it was to be perfected. Much depended also on the distribution which the holy apostles would make among themselves of the provinces of the world in which they would go forth to preach. The blessed father divided these nations among his companions in the following order:

To Father Fray Francisco de San Miguel, the province of the Peccos;

To Father Fray Francisco de Zamora, the province of the Queres;

To Father Fray Juan de Rozas, the province of the Tanos;

To Father Fray Alonzo de Lugo, the province of the Hemes;

To Father Fray Andrés Corchado, the province of Zia;

To Father Fray Juan Claros, the province of the Tioas [Tiwa];

To the lot of Father Fray Cristóbal de Salazar fell the Teoas [Tewa] nation, because he had started the work of baptism there

and also because the Spaniards requested him for the administration of the holy sacraments to them in this town of San Juan de los Caballeros.⁶⁸

XXIV

PENETRATION FROM NEW MEXICO TO
THE WEST

While still in this locality, which is in the center of New Mexico, news was received that toward the west there were many orderly and settled people. So Father Fray Francisco de Escobar,⁶⁹ who at that time was the commissary, a learned friar of great courage, to whom God, our Lord, had given the gift of languages, decided to set out for those parts, taking as companion Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, a lay-brother of pious simplicity and zeal;⁷⁰ Father Escobar was the right man for those conversions, because, besides teaching the Christian doctrine by his excellent example, he also taught the Indians to make musical instruments and how to play them, with which they now celebrate the divine service with great solemnity.⁷¹ The adelantado determined to accompany these apostolic men, taking with him some soldiers of good example and valor, and at the same time to explore the whole land and see how far it was from there to the sea. For one hundred leagues they traveled toward the west through many nations who received them peacefully, influenced by the good treatment they were accorded. The saintly Father Escobar immediately preached to all of them in their own tongue. Arriving at a latitude of 36 degrees, they discovered the sea of California, at a marvelous harbor, an ample and very safe haven for many vessels. Here they saw proof of the fact that the North and South seas came together there. The adelantado thought it fitting to take legal possession of the harbor. So, fully dressed and armed, with a shield on his arm and sword in hand, he gallantly waded into the water up to his waist, slashing the water with his sword and declaring: "I take possession of this sea and harbor in the name of the king of Spain, our lord." Immediately the spirit of the blessed Fray Juan de San Buenaventura rose when he saw this action and, considering that the word of God had already taken possession

of so many hearts, holding a crucifix in his hands and robed in his habit, he waded into the water up to his waist, making the sign of the cross on the water and declaring in a loud voice: "Possession in the name of God, our Lord, possession in . . . "

These apostolic workers and their successors have toiled so much in this vineyard of the Lord from the year 1597 [1598] to the present that, while in all the land there was nothing but idolatry and worship of the devil, today it is all dotted with crosses, churches, and convents. This can be seen in all those nations wherever, in the principal pueblos, there is a convent, a friar, an interesting church, and in every one of the other pueblos, a church where they are ministered to as told below.

XXV

NATION OF THE PIROS ⁷²

These nations are settled along the banks of the Rio del Norte in an area of one hundred leagues; their conversion was carried on by the good and holy men who first arrived there, as well as by those of us who came later. Commencing this narrative with the first nation that we reached, which is that of the Piros Indians, although they are among the last in order of conversion, I state that in the year 1626, while I was custodian of these conversions, I devoted myself to this nation, moved to compassion by the fact that they are the first people one meets upon entering New Mexico and that they always assisted those who arrived in their land, weary from the long journey, and who then went ahead to convert others. They included many pueblos and inhabitants, and in less than a year and a half it pleased God that they were all converted through the virtue of the divine word preached by a minister as unworthy as I.

The dangers, hardships, and anxieties that I suffered in order to achieve this goal, only God, for whom it was done, knows. Suffice it to say that my regular residence as prelate was fifty leagues from there and that nine times I went to labor for their conversion, which, since it was a journey of fifty leagues each way, makes nine hundred leagues of travel. Having at last put this conversion into good order and baptized the majority and the important persons, I handed it over to the blessed

father, Fray Martín de Arvide,⁷³ for him to carry on. We have information that in the year 1632 he won the palm of martyrdom in the province of Zuñi. He brought this conversion and *doctrina* to a state of high perfection and founded there a convent and church. As a result, this province today enjoys three convents: the one dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Socorro; that of San Antonio Senecú; and that of Sevilleta, where today they live in a state of great perfection and Christianity. I could write a long narrative concerning this province, as it has the best climate of New Mexico and is the most fertile and rich; in fact, in it there are rich deposits of silver and gold, but since my sole aim is the healing of souls, I shall treat of this alone.

I cannot refrain from telling what happened to me in this province the first time I entered it. I arrived at the principal pueblo, called Pilabo [*i. e.*, Socorro], and the devil had persuaded them that if a friar only looked at them, they would become Christians, and if this happened all would go wrong with them. Because of this, they all hid or hurried away, so that I did not see anybody in the streets. The first thing I did, as in all the other conversions, was to conjure and banish the devil from this place through the exorcism of the church.

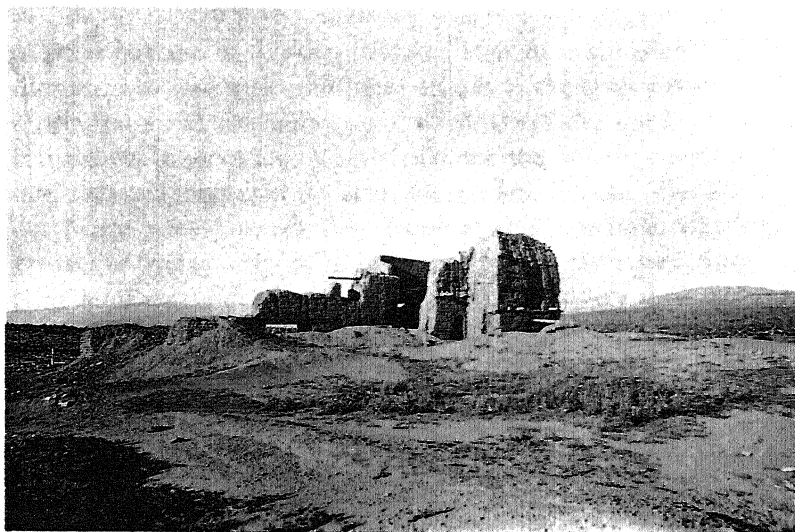
I saw a poor old Indian woman passing by, and, upon asking her where the house of the principal chief of that place was situated, she pointed it out to me. I went there and found him dying of old age, as he must have been one hundred years old. A sister and some other relatives attended him. I told him why I had come, and that since God had preserved his life so that he could hear from me what was necessary for salvation, he should consider himself very fortunate. I explained to him as far as was possible the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith. He immediately asked for baptism, and, upon receiving it, died like a good Christian within four hours. Before he died he called a son, who had likewise hidden in order that I might not see him, and gave him two commands: to become a Christian, never to depart from the service of the church, and always to have food ready to give to the poor who passed by; and ordered that a house should be given to me in which to live and gave me some advice as to how I ought to proceed to convert the people of this nation, according to his opinion.

XXVI FOUNDATION OF THE PUEBLO OF SEVILLETA ⁷⁴

When I entered upon the conversion of this province, the people of this pueblo of Seelocú, which the Spaniards named Sevilleta, had for several years been at war with some other Indians, their enemies, who had burned their pueblo and killed many of them. Those who had escaped were wandering about in the neighboring hills. I undertook to found their pueblo anew and to bring them back to live in it, and our Lord assisted me, it being His own cause. Thus the pueblo is now settled, dedicated to San Luis Obispo of our holy order. As I gained their favor with these good works, they were all converted to our holy Catholic faith. Since that place is a pleasant one, it is growing more and more each day. In this mild manner I refounded several pueblos which had been burned down during their wars. Thus with their own labor, my efforts and those of my companions, and divine assistance, I succeeded in congregating them, and thus their conversion was facilitated.

XXVII THE TIOAS NATION

Seven leagues farther up this same river, there begins the nation of the Tioas,⁷⁵ composed of fifteen or sixteen pueblos, in which there must be some seven thousand souls in a district of twelve or thirteen leagues. They are all baptized. There are two convents, that of San Francisco de Sandia, where lies the body of the saintly martyr, Fray Francisco López, who, as has already been stated, was martyred by the people of this nation; and also the convent of San Antonio de la Isleta. These two churches and convents are very spacious and attractive. Fathers Fray Esteban de Perea and Fray Juan de Salas have worked a great deal in this province and nation, both in congregating these Indians in pueblos and in converting them to our holy Catholic faith, as they were great sorcerers, superstitious, and very belligerent.⁷⁶ Today they have them very docile, all baptized and well instructed, not only in their living and all kinds



a. RUINS OF THE CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS ANGELES DE PORCIÚNCULA.
DE PECOS. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis, 1890)



b. THE PUEBLO OF ISLETA. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis, 1899)

of crafts but also in things spiritual. They have schools where they learn to read, write, and sing, thanks to the great devotion of the friars and the bodily risks which they have endured to bring them to this state of perfection, for the fathers are great ministers and masters of the languages of that nation. The Rio del Norte runs through the center of this province, which causes the friars much hardship in crossing the river each time their ministering demands it, since the river is very swift and subject to bad floods.

XXVIII

THE QUERES NATION

Another four leagues farther on the Queres nation⁷⁷ commences, with its first pueblo, San Felipe. This nation, with its seven pueblos, extends for more than ten leagues, in which there must be more than four thousand souls, all baptized. It has three convents and churches, very spacious and attractive, in addition to the one in each pueblo, all of this achieved through the industry, courage, and care of Father Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, a great minister versed in the very difficult language of this nation. He has taught and trained these Indians well, not only in the things pertaining to our holy Catholic faith but in the ways of civilization, such as reading, writing, and singing, as well as playing all kinds of musical instruments.⁷⁸ He has them in a very docile mood, but he also experienced many personal dangers and sufferings to bring them to their present state, for he is a friar of great ardor. The soil is very fertile and yields abundantly of all that is sown in it; the province also enjoys good fishes, since it is on the banks of the Rio del Norte.

XXIX

THE TOMPIRA NATION⁷⁹

Leaving the Rio del Norte on the left and drawing away from the above-mentioned nation ten leagues toward the east, the Tompira nation begins. Its first pueblo is Chililí.⁸⁰ It extends for more than fifteen leagues through those regions, through fourteen or fifteen pueblos, which must have more than ten thousand souls. It has six very good convents and churches.

The Indians are all converted, the majority baptized, and more are being catechized and baptized every day. They have their schools of all the arts, just like the others. Among the pueblos of this nation there is a large one which must have three thousand souls; it is called Xumanas,⁸¹ because this nation often comes there to trade and barter. I came to convert it on the day of San Isidro, archbishop of Seville, in the year 1627, and I dedicated it to this saint on account of the great success that I experienced there on that day. Many were converted, and our Lord delivered me from the manifest dangers in which I found myself on that day, because these Indians are very cruel. Nevertheless, many leaders were converted, and with their favor, I erected the first cross in this place and we all adored it.

I cannot refrain from telling about the amusing remarks of an old sorcerer who opposed me. I was in the middle of the plaza, preaching to numerous persons assembled there, and this old sorcerer, realizing that my arguments were having some effect on the audience, descended from a corridor with an infuriated and wicked disposition, and said to me: "You Christians are crazy; you desire and pretend that this pueblo shall also be crazy." I asked him in what respect we were crazy. He had been, no doubt, in some Christian pueblo during Holy Week when they were flagellating themselves in procession, and thus he answered me: "How are you crazy? You go through the streets in groups, flagellating yourselves, and it is not well that the people of this pueblo should commit such madness as spilling their own blood by scourging themselves." When he saw that I laughed, as did those around me, he rushed out of the pueblo, saying that he did not wish to be crazy. When I explained to the people the reason why we scourged ourselves, they laughed all the more at the old man and were more confirmed in their desire to become Christians.

This pueblo was left with this start, and later on there came to continue this conversion the blessed father, Fray Francisco Letrado, who converted and baptized the people and founded there a convent and a fine church. We now have the information that in the year 1632 he was martyred in the Zuñi nation.⁸²

When I came to convert this pueblo, I found there a Christian Indian woman who had fled to this place. She and the

war captain always stood by me and assisted me greatly. The Indian woman spoke to all the women and persuaded them well, and the Indian man spoke to the principal captains. If it had not been for him, the sorcerers, who could not bear to see destroyed the idolatry in which their power consisted, would no doubt have killed me on that day.

XXX

THE TANOS NATION

Turning another ten leagues to the north, we come upon the first and principal pueblo of the Tanos nation,⁸³ called Galisteo. It extends for another ten leagues, with five pueblos, where there must be more than four thousand baptized souls. It has one convent, and a fine church with three naves, and all use it for their service. They are very well instructed and ministered to, with their schools of reading, writing, singing, playing musical instruments, and praying, just like all the others. In one of these pueblos, called San Marcos, there are good deposits of silver and turquoise, which the Indians call *chachiuites*.⁸⁴ These are very fine and they value them highly, but they do not know how to cut them well.

XXXI

THE PECCOS NATION

Another four leagues in the same northerly direction one finds the pueblo of Peccos,⁸⁵ which has more than two thousand Indians, well built houses three and four stories high, and some even more. They are all baptized and well instructed under the good administration of Father Fray Andrés Soares, a great minister and linguist. He founded in this pueblo a convent and church of peculiar construction and beauty, very spacious, with room for all the people of the pueblo. This place is extremely cold and so not very productive. For this reason they sow a great amount in order to harvest enough for the year. It is a mountainous country, containing fine timber for construction, hence these Indians apply themselves to the trade of carpentry; and they are good craftsmen, since their minister brought them masters of this craft to teach them.

XXXII

VILLA OF SANTA FE

Turning from the aforesaid pueblo seven leagues toward the west there is the villa of Santa Fe,⁸⁶ where reside the governors and the Spaniards, who may number up to two hundred and fifty. Most of them are married to Spanish or Indian women or to their descendants. With their servants they number almost one thousand persons. This city was founded by the adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, when he entered with seven hundred married Spaniards, but the majority returned to Mexico. The houses are not costly, but adequate as living quarters. They lacked a church, as their first one had collapsed. I built a very fine church for them, at which they, their wives and children, personally aided me considerably by carrying the materials and helping to build the walls with their own hands. We have them well instructed, and they set a good example. The most important Spanish women pride themselves on coming to sweep the church and wash the altar linen, caring for it with great neatness, cleanliness, and devotion, and very often they come to partake of the holy sacraments.

These Spaniards serve as escorts to us, as well as to the Christian Indians; were it not for this, the barbarians and those who have not yet been converted would have eaten us alive and also the Christian Indians. So great is the fear which God has instilled in them of these few Spaniards that they do not dare to come near where they are.

XXXIII

THE TEOAS NATION

Traveling farther to the west toward the Rio del Norte, which we had left, the Teoas nation begins.⁸⁷ This province extends over an area of twelve leagues. It is composed of eight pueblos, in which there must be six thousand souls, all baptized. This nation was the first to be baptized, and, as told before, was also the place where the Spaniards halted and settled when they first came with Don Juan de Oñate, the adelantado.⁸⁸ This nation is very attached to the Spaniards, and when a war breaks



a. THE PUEBLO OF SAN FELIPE. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis)



b. A FORMER NATIVE BRIDGE OVER THE RIO GRANDE AT SAN FELIPE.
(Photo. by C. F. Lummis)

out they are the first to join and accompany them. This nation suffered great famines for lack of water for irrigating their lands, and Father Fray Andrés Baptista,⁸⁹ great minister versed in the language of this nation, industriously got water for them from the Río del Norte, with which they irrigate their lands, and now they live in plenty. He also founded for them in the pueblo of San Ildefonso a convent and church, very spacious and beautiful. He has them well taught and trained in all the crafts and arts. Three other convents have been founded in this nation, with their very spacious churches, and the Indians are well instructed. The church of the pueblo of Santa Clara I founded myself, and, as I am the commissary of the Inquisition, these Teoas Indians prided themselves that I lived among them, and they painted the coat of arms of the Inquisition in the church of the pueblo of Santa Clara where I lived, since they did not wish any other church to have it.

XXXIV

THE HEMES NATION

Crossing the Río del Norte to the west, after seven leagues one comes to the Hemes nation,⁹⁰ one of the most indomitable and belligerent of this whole kingdom; above all, they are very great idolaters. Their pueblos were founded among some terribly rugged, uninhabitable mountains, although extremely rich and prosperous in deposits of silver, and in particular in the finest copper ever seen, since gold is extracted from it. This nation is gay by nature, always talking of dances and games, and very fond of roaming through other lands.

Among others to whose lot there fell the conversion of this nation was Father Fray Gerónimo de Zárate [Salmerón], who, being a good minister and versed in the language of these Indians, baptized more than six thousand there. He founded an interesting convent and a very sumptuous church in the principal pueblo dedicated to Saint Joseph. This friar, recognizing the impossibility of administering well those Indian mountaineers, induced them to live in a pueblo, which with their help he founded in a very suitable place of this same nation. Having worked earnestly at this and having brought thither a large

number of people, it happened that this pueblo burned down, with the result that it was totally abandoned and all the Indians returned to their former mountains, and most of them scattered over other regions.

In the year 1626 I entrusted the assembling and founding anew of this same pueblo to the blessed father, Fray Martín de Arvide.⁹¹ We have now received the news that he was martyred in the province of Zuñi in the year 1632. He, with his great zeal, congregated a good many of these Hemes Indians, and with them and his own industry and labor, he rebuilt that whole pueblo with more than three hundred houses and its very fine church. And having cultivated their lands for sowing and stored in their houses all that was necessary to sustain themselves till the harvest, he brought innumerable people to live at the pueblo and instructed and ministered to them very well. I dedicated that congregation to the glorious San Diego. The Indians are instructed in all the crafts and have their schools like the rest. Now they are very docile, although before they were very belligerent and so hostile to the Christian Teoas, their neighbors, that one of their captains wore around his neck a string of ears of the Christians that he had killed, and he was eating them.⁹² He is now converted, however, and he and all the others are good friends of the Teoas.

XXXV

THE PICURIES NATION

Returning, then, through the Teoas [Tewa] nation up the Rio del Norte, after ten leagues we arrive at the pueblo of the Picuries,⁹³ which has more than two thousand baptized Indians. It has its convent and church, where they are well indoctrinated and instructed. They have their schools of all the arts like the others. They have been the most indomitable and treacherous people of this whole kingdom. Thus the friars have suffered greatly at their hands, in particular the blessed martyr, Fray Martín de Arvide,⁹⁴ for they dragged him around the plaza and almost killed him because he scolded an old Indian who was opposing his son's desire to become a Christian. Here he baptized more than two hundred persons.

The conversion and general baptism of this indomitable pueblo was reserved for the fortunate father, Fray Ascensio de Zárate,⁹⁵ a friar of very perfect life and remarkable abstinence. The Indians have many times attempted to kill him and always God miraculously saved his life.

What we today know and have seen will be told after his death. But by his great zeal and courage he converted and baptized them all; they are now very peaceful; in their schools they are taught all the arts like the rest of them.

XXXVI

THE TAOS NATION

Another seven leagues farther to the north is the pueblo of the Taos,⁹⁶ belonging to the same language group as the preceding one. It has 2,500 baptized Indians, with its convent and church. They had been very rebellious. Father Fray Pedro de Ortega was the first one to whose lot its conversion fell. Since he died among infidels while preaching the divine word under intolerable hardships, he deserves the title of martyr. Divine Majesty favored him very much in this conversion, in which, having converted the principal captain, the latter assisted him in converting the others. Many times they attempted to kill him, but always God protected him from them, as will be told in the narrative of his life.

He was succeeded in this conversion by Father Fray Tomás Carrasco, well versed in the Mexican language, who with much zeal and courage dedicated himself to carry on this conversion, and thus baptized them all. He built a good church of fine architecture, and he taught in its schools the same subjects as elsewhere. Most outstanding in this pueblo is the marvelous choir of wonderful boy musicians, whose voices the friar chose from among more than a thousand who attended the schools of Christian teaching. In this pueblo they had a custom which the others had not, that is, a man had as many wives as he could support. The said father, Fray Tomás, entered upon this conversion in the year 1627, and after all of them had been baptized, it was still found difficult to extirpate this evil from among them. Thus, whenever he preached he reviled them for

this custom. On the other hand, the devil had an old woman who in secrecy did all she could to persuade them to the contrary. In particular, she sought to pervert certain good Christian women who lived alone with their husbands, as our holy mother church commands. In order to pervert them to her will, she invited them to go out to the country and both on going and returning, all day long, she preached her loathsome ideas to them. But the good Christian women never wanted to agree with her, and while returning to the pueblo in the afternoon, the sky being clear and calm, a bolt of lightning from the heavens struck and killed her in the midst of the good Christians whom she was trying to corrupt and teach such bad doctrine. They all flocked thither to see the incident. All gathered in the church, and the blessed father preached of how the Lord by that punishment had confirmed the truth of the sacrament of holy matrimony that he was preaching to them. With this, those who were living in secret concubinage got married, and those who had more than one wife kept only the legitimate one and bettered their lives completely. They are all very well instructed.

XXXVII

THE PEÑOL OF ACOMA

To the west of the Rio del Norte, at a distance of thirty leagues, lies the Peñol of Acoma,⁹⁷ very famous for the many lives that it has cost, both of Spaniards and Indians. This was not only because it was impregnable but also because of the courage and industry of its inhabitants, who are of the Queres nation. It is a steep cliff with only one narrow path hewn out by hand. On the summit there is a space of about half a league where the pueblo is situated. There are here more than one thousand residents of this Queres nation, and also of many others, delinquents and apostates, who have sought shelter and made themselves strong there.⁹⁸ Great wars have been waged over this place. In 1629, this conversion fell to the lot of Father Fray Cristóbal [Juan] Ramírez, a friar of great courage, whom they received in peace and were converted. One night while he was catechizing the most important persons in order to bap-

tize them soon, one of them came in and wailed that the sorcerers had bewitched a grandchild of his, a suckling baby girl, and that she was now dying. The friar, in his great zeal that the child should not die without baptism, went there and found the child in its mother's arms in its last gasps. He told her that if she really loved her daughter she would allow her to be baptized so that she might enjoy paradise, and other things of this nature. The Indian woman, although not yet a Christian, besought him to baptize the child; and, doing so, scarcely had she received the waters of holy baptism when she became well and healthy. Since the child was unable to express her gratitude with words, she did so with amazing signs of outward joy. This incident confirmed all those Indians of the truth of holy baptism, which they now believed and which was being preached to them.

Concerning some very interesting events that have taken place at this Peñol, I refer to the history which I have written.⁹⁹

XXXVIII

THE ZUÑI NATION

Proceeding from the Peñol of Acoma toward the west another thirty leagues one arrives at the province of the Zuñi,¹⁰⁰ which has eleven or twelve pueblos containing more than ten thousand souls. They are great idolaters; they especially worship fire, which they have venerated from the beginning in an estufa with great ceremonies, feeding it so that it will always contain glowing coals amid the ashes, convinced that the world will last only as long as the fire burns.¹⁰¹

Another amazing idolatry is that of snakes,* which is as follows: In a certain spot they make a ring of light sticks some four or five spans high and spaced about one span apart; within this they keep a great many snakes in their holes. The amazing thing is that although the snakes could get out, they never do. The Indians bring them quantities of deers' livers, which around there are innumerable. They give them these to eat, but this they do while whipping them, and the snakes, irritated,

*The word *culebra*, probably rattlesnake, the only poisonous snake in New Mexico.

avenge themselves on the liver with their poisonous fangs, with the result that it becomes very full of poison. The Indians then remove some of this liver and draw their arrows through it and they become so poisonous that they cause the death of anyone they wound with them.¹⁰²

They make use of many other forms of idolatry without any more foundation than the brutality of old sorcerers and impostors. Notwithstanding, they had some slight knowledge of the holy cross from some Mexican Indian who had happened to pass by there in the early times when the Spaniards had first entered New Spain, and it inspired such devotion in them that they always worshipped it and offered it meal.¹⁰³

This conversion fell to the lot of Father Fray Roque de Figueredo, a learned and serious friar, very highly thought of and esteemed in the city of Mexico.¹⁰⁴ In the year 1629, he entered New Mexico with great zeal for the conversion and salvation of those souls. In his company came thirty other friars with the same apostolic devotion, sent by the great zeal of the Catholic king, Philip IV, who spent on them more than 160,000 escudos for all that was necessary for the foundation of the churches of those conversions. This was in addition to the fact that four years previous he had spent on me and twenty-five other friars that I took with me more than 56,000 escudos for the same purpose. As a result those churches are adorned and tidy, and the Indians are very friendly toward us. Two of these friars, under the great hardship of a year on the road, became so ill that one of them died on the way and was buried in the deserts of those barbarous Indians, and the other arrived in New Mexico so near death that he passed away on the fourth day. In their last words both of them declared to God their joy in giving their lives for the Catholic faith which they were coming to preach, desiring even to die for it. Thus we saw them die as martyrs.*

Father Fray Roque de Figueredo also arrived in very poor health, but with such a fervent desire to expend himself at once in the conversion that even before he arrived he requested me to have a district in readiness for him, and when I had placed

* In the margin: Fr. Luís Suárez, Fr. Bartolomé González [the latter in abbreviation]—Fr. B.^{mo} GI^a.

him in charge of this one at Zuñi, he, believing that his strength would fail before he could actually begin converting souls, procured and traveled in a cart, since he was very ill with intermittent fever. God, our Lord, rewarded him so quickly that he arrived strong and in good health at his conversion of Zuñi, where he reaped a vast harvest, converting and baptizing innumerable souls. In this labor he underwent many dangers from the priests of the idols. He took with him a friar-preacher and another person, a lay-brother, men of ability and adapted to that conversion, where in a short time they studied and learned the language. They got those people into a state of much better living. The boys with the best voices especially, he at once taught organ chant, which enhanced the mass and the divine service with much solemnity. After they had converted almost all the people, the sorcerer priests returned to urge them to revolt. By this event he and his companions suffered innumerable hardships, but they withstood them all with great valor and spirit.

XXXIX

THE MOQUI NATION

Traveling another thirty leagues in the same westward direction, one reaches the province and nation of Moqui,¹⁰⁵ which is of the same character as the above-mentioned Zuñi, both in products and climate; it has also ten thousand souls. They differ only in their language, but not in their ceremonies, because they are also great sorcerers and idolaters. This province fell to the lot of the blessed father, Fray Francisco de Porras, and a friar-preacher, and a lay-brother, all of them known for their zeal. They were among the thirty friars who had come in the year 1629. Immediately after they arrived at this conversion, Father Porras dedicated it to the illustrious doctor, San Bernardo. Distributing his companions among the neighboring pueblos, he remained in the principal one and preached our holy Catholic faith, to which the Indians were soon converted.¹⁰⁶

XL

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER,
FRAY FRANCISCO DE PORRAS, AT MOQUI

From the time this blessed father took holy orders in San Francisco de Mexico, he had been a religious of exemplary life. For this reason, the order retained him as master of novices for so many years that they considered him as permanently assigned to this office. Moreover, at the time when he could have expected the reward of so much hardship, he wished to devote himself to greater labors, such as this conversion of Moqui [Hopi], where in less than nine months he mastered their language, which is very barbarous and difficult, and reduced it to a system. He converted and baptized more than four thousand souls and instructed the Indians with great perfection.

After he had converted nearly all the people by his preaching, always bearing one of the original crosses of Mother Luisa de Carrión, he inspired them to such devotion to the holy cross that the idolatrous priests in their anger incited many people to rebellion. They went to him, bringing a boy of twelve or thirteen who had been blind from birth; with great wrath their leader said to him: "You go about deceiving us and disturbing the people with what you call a cross. If what you say about it is true, place it on the eyes of this boy; if he regains his sight, we shall believe everything you tell us; but if not, we will kill you or cast you out in shame." The blessed father, with the spirit that the occasion demanded, went down on his knees with this very cross in his hands, raised his eyes to heaven, and beseeched the divine majesty to work a miracle, not only for the confusion of all these infidels but also for His own greater glory and that of His holy cross. Arising with great faith and courage, he placed it on the eyes of the blind boy, who instantly opened them and saw perfectly and began to shout, professing that he was now able to see. The Indians were so stunned and convinced that they venerated the father as a saint and promised to believe what he taught them. They took the boy in their arms and carried him through the streets and plazas, proclaiming that all should become Christians and do as the father

taught them, for it was the truth and their own priests were deceiving impostors. Because of his great humility, the blessed father ordered them by their vow of obedience not to write about it to us who were eighty leagues away; but God who had worked the miracle in order that it should be made known ordained that the Indians themselves should go out among the neighboring nations and openly proclaim it. The Spaniards who were there at the time wrote to their governor about it and later related it to me personally. With this great miracle, that conversion rose like foam. But the envy of the priests of the idols was so rabid that they again incited the people to revolt. Not being able to kill the father openly, as they had often tried, they killed him secretly with poison, to the great sorrow of all the Christians and the friars but to his own great joy because he had attained the goal which he sought, namely, to give his life in the preaching of our holy Catholic faith.

XLI

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER,
FRAY FRANCISCO LETRADO, IN THIS
AFORESAID PROVINCE OF ZUÑI

The blessed father, Fray Francisco Letrado,¹⁰⁷ one of the thirty friars spoken of above, went to New Mexico with such ardent desire to win martyrdom by preaching our holy Catholic faith that he always exposed himself to unmistakable dangers. It was necessary to restrain him, for his absence would be seriously felt since we were so short of ministers. The conversion of the large pueblo of the Xumanas, which I had previously started, fell to his lot, and here he converted and baptized more than three thousand souls. He instructed them well in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and founded there a very fine church and convent; he also converted many other people in that district. Carried away by the fervor of his great zeal, he requested his prelates to assign him to the conversion of the Zuñi nation in order to assist Fray Roque de Figueredo who was laboring there. Here, on February 22, 1632, on Quinquagesima Sunday, when the converted and baptized Indians were

summoned to mass, they all rose in rebellion and attacked him in a body, smashing his head with their clubs in order to prevent him from preaching the word of God to them any longer, and they inflicted many cruelties on him. Thus in fulfillment of his long-felt desire to die for His divine majesty, he rendered his soul to God.

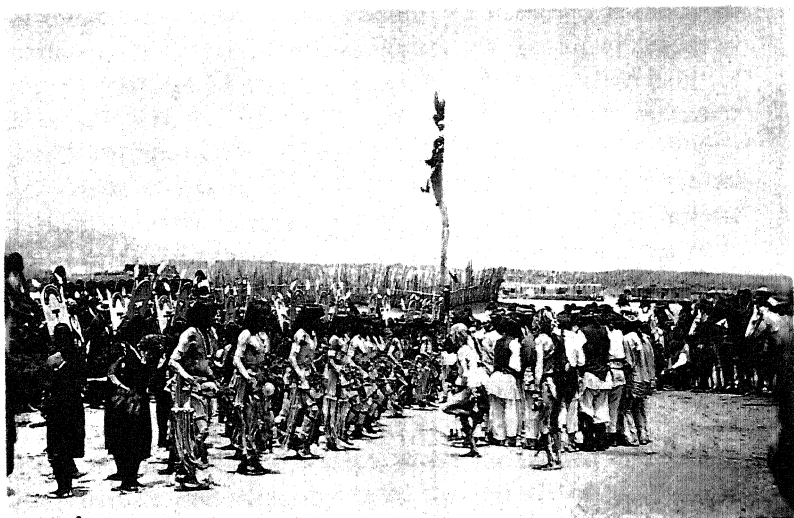
XLII

MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED FATHER, FRAY MARTIN DE ARVIDE, IN THE SAME PROVINCE OF ZUÑI

On February 27 of the same year, 1632, Father Fray Martín de Arvide,¹⁰⁸ who had spent many years in preaching the divine word in New Mexico [suffered martyrdom]. The great pueblo of Picuries had fallen to his lot [*i. e.*, after his arrival in 1621]. Here he converted more than two hundred Indians, suffering great hardships and personal dangers, as these people are the most indomitable of that kingdom. He founded a church and convent large enough to minister to all the baptized. Among the newly converted, there was a young man, a son of one of the principal sorcerers. On a certain occasion, the latter undertook to pervert his son and dissuade him from what the padre taught. When the father was informed of it, he left the convent with a crucifix in his hands and, filled with apostolic spirit, he went to the place where the infernal minister was perverting that soul and began to remonstrate with him, saying, "Is it not sufficient that you yourself want to go to hell without desiring to take your son also?" Addressing the young man, he said, "Son, I am more your father and I love you more than he, for he wants to take you with him to the suffering of hell, while I wish you to enjoy the blessings of being a Christian." With divine zeal, he advanced these and other arguments. The old sorcerer arose, grasped a large club near by, and struck the blessed father such a blow on the head that he felled him and then he and others dragged him around the plaza and ill-treated him cruelly. Miraculously he escaped from their hands; although very eager to offer his life to its Giver, God preserved him for a later occasion.



a. THE CHURCH OF SAN BUENAVENTURA DE COCHITÍ.
(Photo. by A. C. Vroman, 1900)



b. A SUN DANCE IN COCHITÍ. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis)

As a result of this the Indians rebelled, so that for several years that pueblo refused to receive a friar who might preach our holy Catholic faith to them. This situation continued until the year 1628 when I stationed there Father Andrés de Zea, who converted many people. Later he was succeeded by Father Fray Ascensio de Zárate, as has been told. I placed the blessed father, Fray Martín de Arvide, in charge of the conversion of the Piros Indians, where he baptized and converted many people and founded a convent and church in which to minister to them. As I had begun that conversion and baptism but was unable to continue it by reason of the demands of my office as prelate, I entrusted it to him, confident that he would carry it to perfection, as he did.

Afterward I sent him to the Hemes nation, who were wandering astray. In order to congregate them as Christians, he founded a pueblo of more than three hundred houses, with cultivated and planted lands and food stored up in the houses for one year. He brought numerous people to the settlement, where he built a church and convent and administered the holy sacraments with great zeal and good example. All this he accomplished by his own industry and by making skillful use of the labor of these same Indians. All marveled at the foundation of pueblos and the congregating and feeding of people by a little friar, for he was very short, wearing a patched habit of Saint Francis, but the grace and favor of divine assistance enabled him to do it all.

While he was in that locality, I ordered him to make an expedition to the Apache [de Navaho] Indians and to preach the word of God to them. This he did, and he wrote me from there that those Indians begged for holy baptism, for Mother Luisa de Carrión had preached it to them and they called her by her own name.¹⁰⁹ Later he related to me personally how they had actually seen her and how she had preached our holy Catholic faith to them. This is in the same region, on the western border of New Mexico, where the blessed father, Fray Francisco de Porras,¹¹⁰ performed the miracle of giving sight to the blind boy with the cross originally belonging to the said mother, Luisa de Carrión.

Thus when the blessed father, Fray Martín de Arvide, had

completed the conversion of the Hemes, he departed for the province of the Zipios [Zipias], since he still desired to convert more souls to God and had asked permission of the prelate. He reached the province of Zuñi on February 27, 1632, five days after the martyrdom of the blessed father, Fray Francisco Letrado, and found the barbarians in the conspiracy against the ministers of Jesus Christ, but they allowed him to feel safe, and then they approached him treacherously and wounded him seriously. As the blessed father turned toward the tyrants, berating them for their sin, a horde of them rushed upon him, and, as he invoked the aid of God and His most holy mother, they shot him with an arquebus which they had taken from the Spaniards and felled him; after inflicting many other wounds, they took his life, which he offered to God for the conversion of souls. Only a few days previously he had told Father Fray Roque de Figueredo, overjoyed, that in a few days he would win the palm of martyrdom.

With these three blessed martyrs, Fray Francisco de Porras, Fray Francisco Letrado, and Fray Martín de Arvide as the cornerstones, the conversion of the adjoining nations of Zuñi and Moqui was founded. As a result, we can assure ourselves of marvelous fruits.

XLIII

THE APACHE NATION¹¹¹

All of the above-mentioned nations and pueblos are found on both banks of the Rio del Norte, in a territory of one hundred leagues. All the Indians are now converted, baptized, and very well ministered to, with thirty-three convents and churches in the principal pueblos and more than one hundred and fifty churches throughout the other pueblos; here, where scarcely thirty years earlier all was idolatry and worship of the devil, without any vestige of civilization, today they all worship our true God and Lord. The whole land is dotted with churches, convents, and crosses along the roads. The people are so well taught that they now live like perfect Christians.¹¹² They are skilled in all the refinements of life, especially in the singing of organ chants, with which they enhance the solemnity of the divine service.

All these nations settled in this most northerly region in order to escape the intolerable cold and to find there a milder climate, but they met with opposition and resistance from the native inhabitants of this whole land, that is, from the huge Apache nation.¹¹³ In fact, the Apaches surround the above-mentioned nations on all sides and have continuous wars with them.

Thus, since we had converted all these nations, we endeavored to convert the Apaches, who alone are more numerous than all the others together, and even more numerous than the people of New Spain.¹¹⁴ These Indians are very spirited and belligerent. They are a people of a clearer and more subtle understanding, and as such they laugh at the other nations because they worship idols of wood and stone. The Apaches worship only the sun and the moon. They wear clothing, and although their chief sustenance is derived from hunting, they also plant much corn. Their houses are modest, but adequate for protection against the cold spells of that region. In this nation only, the husband often has as many wives as he can support. This also depends on rank, for it is a mark of prestige to have numerous wives. They cut off the nose and ears of the woman taken in adultery. They pride themselves on never lying but on always speaking the truth. The people of this nation are countless, for they occupy the whole of New Mexico. Thus, armies of more than thirty thousand have been seen on the way to war against each other, the fields swarming with them.¹¹⁵ They have no one king who governs them, in general, but in each district or province they allow themselves to be ruled by one who is famous for some brave deed.¹¹⁶ The neighboring provinces, however, always heed and have respect for someone from a larger province. Leaving unsaid many interesting facts about this nation, the riches and fertility of its lands, I shall deal only with its provinces, commencing with the south or west.

XLIV

CONVERSION OF THE XILA APACHES

Starting, then, with that portion of this nation nearest to the Pira [Piro] nation, which is the first we meet on reaching New Mexico,¹¹⁷ there is, on the opposite bank of the Rio del Norte to the west, the province and tribe of the Xila Apaches.¹¹⁸ It is fourteen leagues from the pueblo of San Antonio Senecú, where their chief captain, called Sanaba, oftentimes comes to gamble. After he had heard me preach to the Piros several times, he became inclined to our holy Catholic faith and confided his thoughts to me; and when I had satisfied him in regard to certain difficulties that he had encountered, he determined to become a Christian and said that he wanted to go and tell his people in order that they too should become Christians. This he did, and within a few days he returned to see me, with some of his people already converted by what he had told them. Confirming them in their good intentions, I persuaded them, since they were the chief lords, that, as a good beginning to their Christianity, they should at once erect a cross in the center of the plaza of their pueblo so that I could find and worship it when I came to visit them. They promised me to do this and departed very happy. And, although I, because of the demands of my office and the lack of friars, could not go there that year, withal I learned that Captain Sanaba was an apostolic preacher and desired that all of his tribe should be converted, and he had already prepared them for it.

XLV

REMARKABLE HIEROGLYPH OF CAPTAIN
SANABA

After the lapse of a few days, I returned there to ascertain the state of that conversion. When Captain Sanaba heard that I had arrived at San Antonio Senecú, he came those fourteen leagues to see me, accompanied by many of his people. After I had welcomed him with honor in the presence of all, he presented me with a folded chamois, which is a dressed deer-

skin. It is customary among these people, when going to visit someone, to bring a gift. I accepted it to gratify him, although I told him that I did not want anything from him except that he and all his people should become Christians. He asked me to unfold the chamois and see what was painted on it. This I did and saw that it had been decorated with the sun and the moon, and above each a cross, and although the symbolism was apparent to me, I asked him about it.¹¹⁹ He responded in these formal words: "Father, until now we have not known any benefactors as great as the sun and the moon, because the sun lights us by day, warms us, and makes our plants grow; the moon lights us by night. Thus we worship them as our gods. But, now that you have taught us who God, the creator of all things is, and that the sun and the moon are His creatures, in order that you might know that we now worship only God, I had these crosses, which are the emblem of God, painted above the sun and the moon. We have also erected one in the plaza, as you commanded."

Only one who has worked in these conversions can appreciate the joy that such happenings bring to a friar when he sees the results of his preaching. Recognizing this gift as the fruit of the divine word, I took the chamois and placed it on the high altar as a banner won from the enemy and as evidence of the high intelligence of this nation, for I do not know what more any of the ancient philosophers could have done. With this I bade farewell to him and his people, who were very happy. Within a few days he came more than sixty leagues to see me, rejoicing that all of his people had decided to become Christians. In his own name and in behalf of all of them he rendered obedience to me in the name of our holy mother, the church. With this good start, I founded that conversion in their pueblo of Xila, placing it in charge of Father Fray Martín del Espíritu Santo, who administered it with great courage during the year 1628.

XLVI

CONVERSION OF THE APACHES
OF PERRILLO

Adjoining the Xila Apaches, there is another tribe which the Spaniards call Perrillo Apaches, on account of a spring of water that a small dog discovered there.¹²⁰ An Indian of this tribe who heard me preach to the people of Senecú about the torments of hell which all those who are not baptized must suffer, lingered all alone after the meeting, very sad. When I asked him the reason for this, he replied: "Father, I love my wife and children dearly and am very sad that we must suffer those torments because we are not baptized, and therefore I am very envious of these Piros who are baptized. Consequently I intend to depart immediately for my land and to speak to every one. If they do not desire to become Christians, I shall bring my wife and children and we will be baptized." I consoled him as much as I could, and thereupon he departed.

A month later the alarm was sounded in the pueblo [of Senecú] that a large force was descending upon it from the Perrillo region, and when they were ready, they saw that the Perrillos halted on the opposite [eastern] bank of the river and that only eight men and four women crossed over. They asked if I was in the pueblo, and learning that I was, and having asked my permission, they came to speak to me. I received them with all kindness, and, as I sat among them, they all stared at me a long time without saying a word. Then the oldest man, who was their chief captain, took the lead, saying:

"Father, among us it is not customary to lie, and one of our men has told us of some things that he saw and heard you say which we could not believe. Thus we determined to come in person to satisfy ourselves. We already see that what he told us about your person, at least, is true. Now it remains for us to learn if what he said he heard you say is also true."

I asked them to tell me what he had told them, and they repeated specifically the words he had heard me say regarding

the torments of hell which those who are not baptized and not Christians must suffer. I assured them that it was all true, and I added all that I could about the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith which our Lord inspired me to teach them. As a result, they all decided to become Christians, and they themselves decided to join the people of Captain Sanaba and be instructed and baptized there. As proof of the joy with which they became converted to our holy Catholic faith, they established firm friendship with the Piro, with whom they were not on very good terms. Then they brought over to this side more than a hundred who had remained on the opposite [eastern] bank of the river. That day they celebrated with dances. Such are the achievements of the power of the divine word.

XLVII

CONVERSION OF THE NAVAHO APACHES

Starting, then, from this province of the Xila Apaches, which extends for more than fifty leagues along the frontier of the pueblos of New Mexico toward the west, we reach the magnificent province and tribe of the Navaho Apaches.¹²¹ It must be noted that we are speaking of the people of that nation which is on the frontier of the settlements of New Mexico, and although the population around here is innumerable, it becomes greater as we go toward the center of their land, which extends so far in all directions that, as I say, it alone is vaster than all the others. Thus, all those fifty leagues from Xila up to this Navaho nation are settled with rancherías, and the territory of the latter extends for another fifty leagues of frontier. There the population is so dense that in less than eight days, on one occasion, they assembled more than thirty thousand to go to war, for they are a very bellicose people. This is a very conservative estimate, because the sargento mayor of the Spanish soldiers told me that once when he had fought them in a war he had seen more than two hundred thousand, as near as he could estimate.¹²² In journeying westward through this nation, one never reaches the end of it. The whole land is teeming with people. To bring about their conversion, I went to live in a pueblo called

Capoo,¹²³ dedicated to Santa Clara. It lies on the opposite bank of the river, on the frontier of the Christian Indians of the Teoas [Tewa] nation, where the Apaches [de Navaho] killed people every day and waged war on them.

I greatly desired to capture one of them either in war or peace, in order to treat him very well and talk to him about our holy Catholic faith, and then to send him back a free man to his superiors and in order to make peace between them. But it was not possible, owing to the great caution with which they live and make their raids. Therefore I decided to attempt this by other means, far more dangerous, as follows: In the month of September of the year 1629,¹²⁴ I called a council of the principal captains and the governor of this Teoas nation, where I was. I told them of my desire to make peace between them and the Apaches in order to avoid the many deaths which occurred among the Christians every day, and of my hope that this should also result in plans leading to the conversion of this great nation. Moreover, since we had not been able to capture one of them through whom we could make this peace offer, I desired that we should send them some ambassadors to discuss peace with them, if they thought it acceptable. Although there was great risk in going suddenly into their midst, they all agreed that this was an excellent plan, so they immediately named the twelve most valiant men of the pueblo, with Don Pedro as their leader, to direct the embassy. He had been reared among some very courageous Spaniards and spoke the Apache language well; those who were to accompany him also spoke their tongue. The form of the embassy was very amusing, though very ingenious in its way. They gave him an arrow which had a colored feather at the point instead of a flint, and likewise they gave him a pipe made of reed, very long and slender, filled with tobacco, lighted and drawing.¹²⁵ With another feather they indicated how far down they had smoked. The arrow was to be shot to the Apaches when the party approached their first ranchería, and the enemy, upon seeing it, would understand, as was their custom, that they came in peace, and the reed with the tobacco, which they use extensively in these parts, was to be smoked ceremonially. I likewise gave

them my peace emblem, which was a rosary for the captain, and a message that I desired to meet him and discuss some matters of common interest. Now that the embassy had been arranged in such a way as to be successful, as it was—it happened to be the eve of the Stigmata of Saint Francis,¹²⁶ to whom I immediately dedicated that conversion—and having attended the mass for this feast day with great devotion, they set out on their journey from the church.

They traveled all that day and on the morning of the next came within sight of the first enemy ranchería. One of their famous chieftains, a very belligerent individual, was here at that time, recruiting a large army in order to fall upon and massacre all the Christians. He was a cousin of the leading cacique who governed them. Our embassy approached with great fear and shot the arrow from a safe distance. They answered it with another. Approaching, they exchanged words, handed the chief the reed of tobacco, asking him to smoke with them, and they also gave him my rosary. After the purpose of the mission had been explained, the captain asked about the significance of all the beads strung on that cord. The ambassador answered with unpremeditated subtlety: "The friar, who knows that there are so many captains among you, sends each one of you, through each one of these beads, his word that he will always be your friend and that we will also." When the Apache [de Navaho] heard this, he gave a great sigh and said he was very sorry that they should offer peace at this time when he had made such elaborate preparations for exterminating them all with one stroke, but since peace was such a fine thing, he could not help accepting it. Furthermore, he at once sent the reed and arrow to the chief cacique, but kept the rosary, and made known to the cacique the mission and his reply. But, suspicious that this might be a plot or quibbling, he said that he wished to come personally to see me and to learn the truth.

I was immediately notified by one of our men, who came post-haste, and I sent out more than fifteen hundred souls to welcome him. The church was prepared and beautified with many lighted candles, as night had already fallen. It all looked very holy. When they approached the altar, they found me

seated in a chair, and the governor of the pueblo [ranchería], without my having suggested it to him, came forward after prayers and kissed my feet, an act to which I then consented as being necessary, since it was the first time that that proud and bellicose people had seen it. The captain of the Apaches [de Navaho] did likewise. I made him rise. Then our governor presented him with his bow and arrows and said that he gave them to him as a token that he would always be his friend, and, to bind this friendship still further, he gave them to him by the hand of the priest of the true God, whom we all worship. The Apache [de Navaho] captain took one single arrow of his own, gave it to me, and said: "I do not know who this is that you call God, but since you place Him as witness that you will keep your word, He must be some great captain. Thus, in His name and also by the hand of this father, I give you my arrow as assurance that friendship shall never fail on our part." With those arrows in my hand I then told him that if he wished to know God, I would tell him, and that he would promise peace with greater firmness and joy. He begged me to do so, and with the spirit that our Lord inspired in me, I told him that the God he had heard about was the One who had created heaven and earth and all eternal things, etc. He was so pleased on hearing this that he turned toward all the people in the church and exclaimed in a loud voice: "O, Teoas [Tewa], how greatly I envy you that you have one here who can teach you these things! So, from now on, I declare that I adore even more than you this Lord, God, and Creator of all things. And again I vow in His name to keep this peace."

At this they all embraced one another. I ordered the bells to be rung and the trumpets and flageolets to be sounded, which greatly pleased the captain, as well as those who had come with him, since they were hearing them for the first time. The arrows I placed on the altar as trophies of the divine word, which had caused it all to happen. Thenceforth the peace became so firm that they communicated with one another, unarmed, visiting each other's country with great pleasure.

After the divine word had been explained to them, they

were converted and requested holy baptism. The blessed Fray Martín de Arvide entered this nation at the extreme end when they told him that Mother Luisa de Carrión had converted them, naming her by her very name. This nation alone has more than two hundred thousand souls belonging to this tribe of the Navaho.¹²⁷

XLVIII

CONVERSION OF THE APACHES
OF QUINIA

Another fifty leagues or more beyond the aforesaid tribe, there lives another group of this same nation, as populous as the former. It is governed by an Indian called Quinía, very famous in that country, very belligerent and valiant in war. In earlier times, previous to my going there, several of our friars had attempted to reveal the truth of our holy Catholic faith to this tribe, and therefore this Captain Quinía was already favorably disposed to the friars.¹²⁸ For this reason, one of his own people treacherously shot him in the chest with an arrow and wounded him. The blessed father, Fray Pedro de Ortega, who was ten leagues away, heard of it, and, taking with him Fray Gerónimo de Pedraza, lay-brother and a fine surgeon who in his great charity healed all the sick in that land, set out to cure Captain Quinía.¹²⁹ His wound was already full of pus, because the flint of the arrow had remained in it. Fray Gerónimo wanted him to permit its removal, but he would not consent. Father Ortega gave him a rather large copper medal with the image of our Lady and that of our father, Saint Francis, and urged him to have faith in it. He kissed it and placed it over the wound; then, taking the cord from a bow, he bound it so tightly that it penetrated the flesh. When the friar visited him the following day they found that the medal had penetrated the wound, and, on untying the cord, out came the medal, with the flint stuck to it, and much pus. So they did not apply any other remedy, except this same medal, till he was fully healed, and therefore he decided to become a Christian. Later, in his great zeal Father Fray Ascensio de Zárate¹³⁰ and his people kept this good desire alive in him until a greater number of friars could be sent out

among them. In the year 1627, Captain Quinía came and asked me for baptism with great insistence. To console him, I went to his rancherías, as he had retired farther inland, and planted there the first crosses. In the year 1628, Father Fray Pedro de Ortega baptized him and another famous captain, called Manases, who lived near his ranchería. At the time of their baptism, remarkable incidents occurred.

The conversion of this tribe and province, in the year 1628, fell to the lot of Father Fray Bartolomé Romero,¹³¹ reader in theology, a friar of excellent virtues, who devoted himself to his task with great and apostolic spirit. Captain Quinía came to meet him and escort him to his country, bringing along one of his sons whom Father Romero baptized in the city of Santa Fe, where he was. This was done with great solemnity, the Spanish governor honoring him highly by acting as godfather. At the same time a famous Indian warrior whom Quinía had captured in war and whom he greatly loved was baptized and they gave him the name of Bernardino. The Spanish governor and fifty Spanish soldiers accompanied the father to the ranchería. In one day they built a church of logs, which they hewed, and they plastered these walls on the outside. The governor himself and Father Romero carried the logs; emulating them, the Spanish soldiers and the Indians did likewise. Hence it was built in that one day amid great apostolic rejoicings.

After setting this good example, the governor departed, and Father Romero remained alone and instructed them with great fervor. But the devil perverted Captain Quinía, and now, hating our holy law, which he had so much desired to profess, he attempted to kill Father Romero. Abjuring baptism, Quinía abandoned the ranchería and moved elsewhere to prevent anyone from being taught by the father, who never deserted his post. Only the valiant Indian Bernardino remained with Father Romero and, as a good Christian, defended and protected him on many occasions when they attempted to kill him. Thus, finding himself alone, the friar was obliged to abandon the post. Nevertheless, Captain Quinía repented of his sin, but from shame he did not dare to put in an appearance, and when I left New Mexico he was endeavoring to submit himself to our holy Catholic faith once more.

This conversion had now been started, and it was a marvelous opening for other larger conversions, although this one is quite large, and it already includes many baptized Christians. With this tribe we conclude our survey of the frontiers where this Apache nation borders on others, from Xila on the west, which is next to the Piros, the first we strike in New Mexico, as far as Taos, where the last settlements are found. From north to south, there are a hundred leagues of settlements along the banks of the Rio del Norte. This frontier which the Apache nation forms in the west extends also to the east, for, since the tribe is so large, it encircles and surrounds all the other nations and has a frontier of more than two hundred leagues.

XLIX

CONVERSION OF THE VAQUEROS APACHES

Now, leaving the last *ranchería* of the Apaches of Quinía, which lies to the west, and crossing the Rio del Norte to the east, other *rancherías* of this same nation commence, forming a frontier there also. The first tribe, which we call Apaches Vaqueros,¹³² is so extensive that its frontier extends for one hundred leagues till it reaches the border of Perrillo. The latter are the people we have mentioned as neighbors of the Piros and of the Xila, who decided to be ministered to jointly. This nation [Apaches Vaqueros] extends for more than another hundred leagues to the east, where its inhabitants are innumerable. They sustain and clothe themselves on the famous *cíbola* cattle, as is told in Paragraph II, using the hides for clothing.¹³³

The beginning of the conversion of this tribe was brought about by the continuous intercourse which they have had with the friars in the Christian pueblos, where the Indians came to sell dressed *síbola* hides, and the friars always talked to them of God. There spread among them the report and fame of the great beauty and reverence for an image of the death of our Lady which I had placed in a chapel in the church in the villa of Santa Fe, where the Spaniards worshipped. The principal captains came to see it, and when they beheld it all were converted and worshipped it. We kept it adorned with much devotion. The first time that they saw it was at night, surrounded by

many lighted candles, with music playing. It would be a long matter to relate all my conversations with these captains in regard to their learning how to become Christians. And as to what they said to the holy image while kissing its feet, I refer to my history.

When an attempt was made to establish a large settlement on a site chosen by them, the devil hindered it and prevented the church from being founded there; and these intentions were frustrated by an accursed Indian who killed the chief captain in a war waged on them. In the year 1629, however, they again considered the matter and all wanted to become Christians. As a result I believe that today many are baptized. With this we have related a small part of the much left untold concerning that great nation. It would be an injustice to attempt to estimate the infinite number of its people, their great valor and ferocity. Even if there were no other nation but this one in New Mexico, this nation alone would be sufficient to give life to those regions, for it amounts to more than all the others combined. Through the solicitude and apostolic zeal of the seraphic sons of St. Francis, they are now all at peace and a great many of them are Christians. Were it not so, they would already have killed all the Christians, on whom they had declared open war, not even sparing the lives of the friars which they have often tried to take.

L

MIRACULOUS CONVERSION OF THE XUMANA NATION

Setting out eastward from the villa of Santa Fe, center of New Mexico, and traveling through more than one hundred leagues of country belonging to the Apaches Vaqueros mentioned in the preceding chapter, one reaches the Xumana nation,¹³⁴ whose conversion was miraculous. Several years earlier, messengers came from this nation every summer to beg Father Fray Juan de Salas,¹³⁵ in particular, that he go to baptize them, as they wanted to become Christians. They had become attached to him on seeing him come to the rescue of some unfortunate people that they were ill-treating. For lack



STONE REREDOS OF THE FORMER MILITARY CHAPEL IN SANTA FE, NOW IN THE CHAPEL OF CRISTO REY IN SANTA FE. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis)

of friars, we did not send anyone to preach to them, nor did they inform us who had advised them to do this, nor did we ask, convinced that they acted like many other nations who had also asked for baptism, after hearing the truth of our holy Catholic faith. Finally, in the year 1629, when more than four years had passed since we had had any news from Spain, there arrived in New Mexico the thirty friars sent to us at that time by the Catholic king. These friars told us from an account which had been given them the previous year by the archbishop of Mexico, that it was common news in Spain that a nun named María de Jesús de la Concepción, of the Discalced order of Saint Francis, residing in the town of Agreda in the province of Burgos, was miraculously transported to New Mexico to preach our holy Catholic faith to those savage Indians.¹³⁶ The archbishop had charged these same friars to inquire into this affair and had informed them of the report he had brought to the Indies from Spain two years before. He added that it had been given to him by a reliable person who assured him that it happened in the following manner:

It is very probable that in the continued exploration of New Mexico and the conversion of those souls, a kingdom called Tidán will soon be reached, four hundred leagues beyond Mexico to the west, or between west and north, which, as far as is known, is situated between New Mexico and Quivira. If by chance the cosmography should be erroneous, it would be helpful to take note of three other kingdoms, called Chillescás, Guismanes, and Aburcos, respectively, which border on the said kingdom of Tidán. When these have been explored, we will endeavor to learn whether there is any knowledge of our holy Catholic faith in them, and by what manner and means our Lord made it known to them. In authorizing this inquiry, the archbishop says:

"We, Don Francisco Manzo y Zúñiga, archbishop elect of Mexico, member of the council of his Majesty and of the royal Council of the Indies, do hereby urgently recommend this inquiry to the reverend custodian and fathers of the said conversion in order that they may carry it out with the solicitude, faith, and devotion that the case demands, and that they duly inform us concerning its results, so that they may be verified in

legal form. This will no doubt redound in great spiritual and temporal advancement to the glory and service of our Lord. Issued in Mexico on May 18, 1628."

When this news reached New Mexico in 1629, we were in complete ignorance of it, nor had we ever heard of Mother María de Jesús. But we soon noticed that the great care and solicitude with which the Xumana Indians came to us every summer to plead for friars to go and baptize them must have been through inspiration from heaven. When this news arrived, they had already come a few days earlier to make the same request, and they were lodged in the pueblo. We called them to the convent and asked them their motive in coming every year to ask for baptism with such insistency. Gazing at a portrait of Mother Luisa in the convent, they said: "A woman in similar garb wanders among us over there, always preaching, but her face is not old like this, but young." Asked why they had not told us before, they answered, "Because you did not ask us, and we thought she was around here, too." These Indians repeated this same story in different localities without variation or difference in their accounts.

Immediately we decided to send the said Father Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López, his companion,¹³⁷ both theologians and priests of great zeal. With these same Indians as guides, they departed on that apostolic mission. After traveling more than one hundred leagues, crossing the country of the Apache Vaqueros toward the east, they reached the Xumana nation, who came out to receive them in procession, carrying a large cross and garlands of flowers. They learned from the Indians that the same nun had instructed them as to how they should come out in procession to receive them, and she had helped them to decorate the cross. A very large number of people stopped in that place and asked for baptism with loud cries. The Indian women with suckling babes seized their little arms and lifted them on high, shouting also for baptism for them since they were incapable of asking for it themselves.

After working there for several days in catechizing them, and having set up a large cross where they always gathered to pray, these friars decided to come back to us to get more workers, as the harvest was great. Taking leave of the Indians, they

charged them to worship the holy cross and to have faith that in it they would find satisfaction for all their needs. The chief captain said: "Father, we are as yet of no value before God, because we are not baptized; we are like the beasts in the fields. You are a priest of God and can do much with that holy cross; heal our many sick before you depart." Then they brought people with all kinds of infirmities, and when these two friars made the sign of the cross over them and recited the gospel of Saint Luke, *Loquente Jesu*, and the prayer of our Lady, *Concédenos*, and the one of our father, Saint Francis, they immediately arose, well and healed. More than two hundred of the latter were counted. In this manner the Indians were strongly confirmed in our holy Catholic faith.

The friars, although they did not see the nun there, learned accurately from all the Indians how she had appeared visibly to everyone and had instructed them in their own tongue and reproved them for being lazy because they did not come to seek us. At that very moment, there came ambassadors from other neighboring nations, such as the Quiviras and Xapies,¹³⁸ also pleading for baptism, because the same nun had preached to them. These friars left that miraculous conversion in this state and returned to give us an account of what they had seen and to obtain more workers and helpers to build a church there. Thus we were all convinced that this nun was the mother María de Jesús mentioned in the report of the archbishop, and that she was the one who had been privileged to be God's apostle in that miraculous way.

When I arrived in Spain in 1630, the most reverend general of the order, Fray Bernardino de Zena, reassured me that it was she, that he had investigated this matter eight years previously when he was commissary general in Spain, and that the nun was miraculously carried to the conversion in New Mexico. Therefore he gave me a special permit to visit her personally at Agreda and ordered her to satisfy me in every way to the glory and honor of God. She convinced me absolutely by describing to me all the things in New Mexico as I have seen them myself, as well as by other details which I shall keep within my soul. Consequently, I have no doubts in this matter whatsoever.¹³⁹

Likewise,* Father Fray Juan de Santander,¹⁴⁰ who was commissary general of the Indies in the year 1630 when I arrived in Spain and who is now bishop of Mallorca, having heard about these things and the miracle which the blessed father, Fray Francisco de Porras,¹⁴¹ performed at Moqui by giving sight to the child, blind from birth, with the aid of a cross from Mother Luisa de Carrión, convinced that she was the person mentioned in the memoir of the archbishop of Mexico, wanted to go personally to investigate this important incident at the villa of Carrión. After he had communicated with Father Fray Domingo de Aspe, confessor of the said mother, a friar of great merit and zeal—which are essential to govern so great a soul—the latter showed him in the book of revelations which he is writing about her, a chapter describing how, a year and a half before I returned to Spain, Mother Luisa had been miraculously carried to the conversions of New Mexico. He took the actual passage from the book and showed it to me, but did not allow me to copy it.

From all this I infer definitely that it is Mother María who miraculously goes to preach to the nations of New Mexico which lie to the east, such as the Xumanas, Japies, Quiviras, and other kingdoms which she personally told me about with most vivid details; and that Mother Luisa in the same manner is miraculously borne to the conversions in the west of New Mexico, such as the Navaho Apaches, who told about it there to the blessed martyr, Fray Martín de Arvide,¹⁴² and is also borne to the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, where the miracle of her cross took place. And although we could be well satisfied with this alone, there are other and more important proofs; however, as these blessed nuns are still living, we must keep silent until after their death.

Since my return to Spain, I have received letters from New Mexico in which the fathers have informed me how Father Fray Ascensio de Zárate,¹⁴³ whom I had left at the Picuries conversion, and the blessed father, Fray Pedro de Ortega, came to the conversions of the Xumanas. The latter friar, after great sufferings at that conversion, rendered his soul unto God, its Giver. It is fitting that we give an account of his life and death.

* In the margin: Mother Luisa.

LI

LIFE AND HAPPY DEATH OF THE BLESSED
FATHER, FRAY PEDRO DE ORTEGA

The blessed father, Fray Pedro de Ortega, was a native of the city of Mexico in New Spain, the son of parents not only noble but so wealthy that, although there were numerous children, more than seventy thousand ducats fell to the share of Father Fray Pedro de Ortega alone. From childhood he was always a very good lad, and when he wished to become a Franciscan friar, his father, who wanted him to be a secular priest and had educated him to that end, opposed his plan. When his father died, he renounced all his possessions and immediately went to ask for a friar's habit, which was given him in the convent of San Francisco in Mexico. Soon after his ordination as priest, he dedicated himself to the conversions of New Mexico, where, with the greatest zeal, he converted the first Indians, and later nearly all those of Taos, amid very great hardships and personal dangers. He retained nothing of the vast fortune he had given up, for he was a very poor friar, possessing only his habit, a man of great humility and exemplary life.

When he began the conversion of the Taos, the idolatrous Indians illtreated him to prevent him from remaining there and preaching our holy Catholic faith. For food they gave him tortillas of corn made with urine and mice meat, but he used to say that for a good appetite there is no bad bread, and that the tortillas tasted fine. Nor would they give him a house in which to live. Therefore he made himself a shelter with some branches, for that country is so extremely cold that not even in the estufas [kivas] can they keep warm, and he, clad only in his habit, lived in that desolate region. He converted the principal captain, who helped him convert the others. Mounting a flat roof with him, he preached to the Indians, and the captain exhorted them also. Those who were converted began to stand up, now five, who were the first, now three, and now six. In this manner, nearly all of them arose. He instructed them very well and baptized most of them. Then they gave him a site for a house and church, and, with their help, he built the convent.

The priests of the idols often attempted to kill him. On one occasion, especially, an Indian came at night and entered stealthily, leaving others in the rear of the convent garden to safeguard his retreat. It was midnight, and the father, in company with a Spaniard who had come to visit him, was warming himself by the fireplace. The Spaniard had brought along a very good dog, which, upon hearing the footsteps of the Indian, jumped up, barking, near the father and the Spaniard and rushed to attack the Indian, who was already aiming his arrow to kill the blessed father by stealth. Frightened by the dog, the Indian fled, but the dog overtook him in the middle of the garden and tore him to pieces. The blessed father, unaware of what was going on, asked the Spaniard to call the dog back lest he injure some Indian, and, calling it from the doorway, the dog returned.

Those who had been keeping guard fled, but later returned and found their companion half dead. They bore him away and went and told the captain, who at once came to call the blessed father. He, with great sorrow in his soul, saw that the Indian was already dying, although he had time to ask forgiveness for attempting to kill the father. The Indian was converted and baptized, but he died soon afterward. When all those who were not yet baptized and converted saw this punishment from God, they conceived a great love and veneration for the blessed father and were converted and baptized. They recognized that the death of the Indian was deserved, although it was deeply felt and deplored by the blessed father.

The latter was guardian for about two years in the villa of Santa Fe,¹⁴⁴ where he maintained a general school for teaching reading, writing, singing, the playing of all kinds of instruments, and other matters. Here he taught the Spanish and Indian boys so effectively that, with their organ chants, they enhanced the divine service with great solemnity.

When Fray Pedro de Ortega heard of what was taking place in this miraculous conversion of the Xumanas, he arranged with Father Fray Ascensio de Zárate to go there, which they did, with apostolic zeal. He labored so much in that vineyard of the Lord that, worn out by the long and severe hardships of the march, the evangelical preaching and the catechizing of the

Indians in the Christian doctrine, he rendered up his soul to God. Thus he deserved the palm of martyrdom, since he spent his whole life in the conversion of the Indians until his physical strength gave out, and with this his life. He was generous by nature, and, although extremely poor, he never lacked the means to perform deeds of charity for the needy, who looked upon him as a father. Thus he enjoys his deserved reward.

When we received the news in New Mexico that Mother María de Jesús was carried miraculously to preach in the eastern regions of that kingdom, Fray Pedro de Ortega, with a companion and several young Indian interpreters, went to explore those nations. There, after great dangers and sufferings, he came within sight of those nations, from which he returned to report to us. He had traveled through more than one hundred leagues of unknown land, never before seen, and had spread our holy Catholic faith and planted crosses everywhere.

LII

THE INDIANS, AFTER BAPTISM, OBSERVE OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH WELL

These are, in short, the nations of New Mexico, where these countless people had lived in the darkness of their idolatry from the time of the Flood until the present most felicitous pontificate of your Holiness;¹⁴⁵ in that land, through the preaching and ministry of the seraphic sons of Saint Francis, more than 500,000 souls are now converted,¹⁴⁶ to the honor and glory of God, our Lord. Once the Indians have received holy baptism, they become so domestic that they live with great propriety. Hardly do they hear the bell calling to mass before they hasten to the church with all the cleanliness and neatness they can. Before mass, they pray together as a group, with all devotion, the entire Christian doctrine in their own tongue. They attend mass and hear the sermon with great reverence. They are very scrupulous not to miss, on Saturdays, the mass of our Lady, whom they venerate highly. When they come to confession they bring their sins,

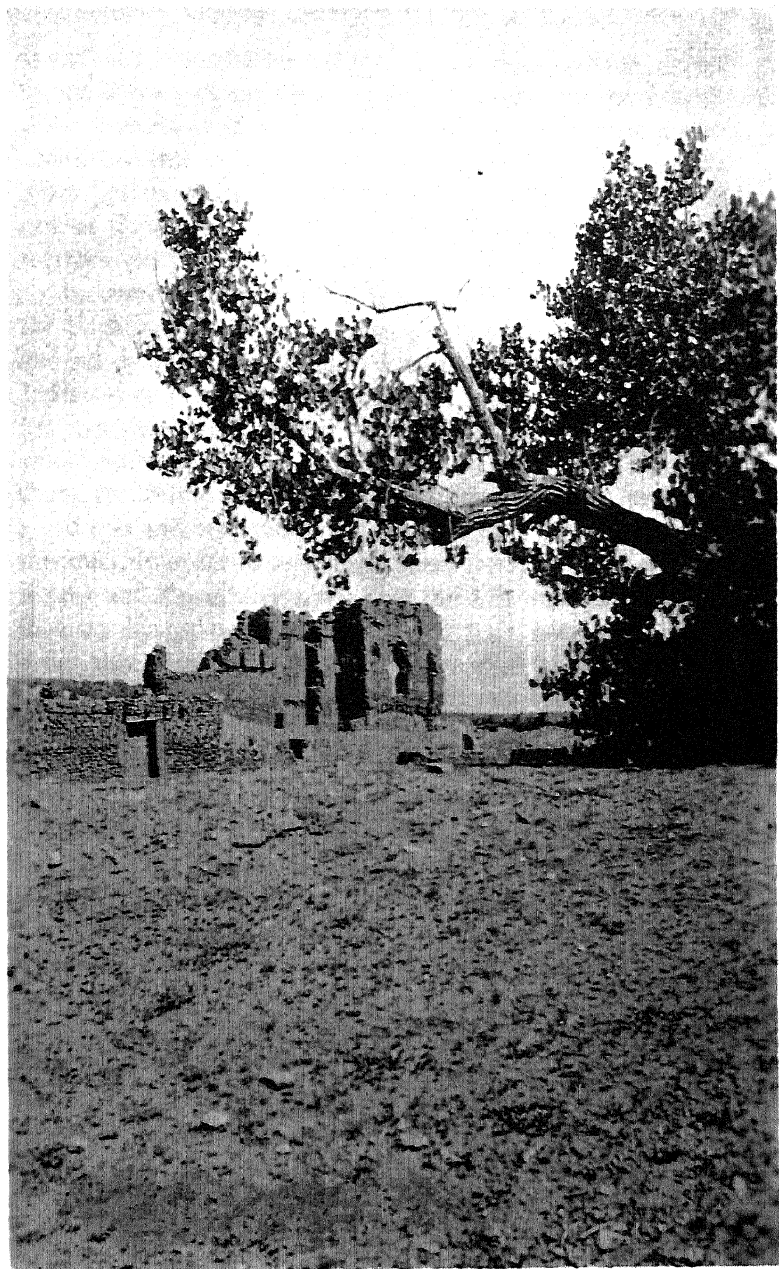
well studied, on a knotted string,¹⁴⁷ indicating the sins by the knots; and, in all humility, they submit to the penances imposed on them. During Lent they all come with much humility to the processions, which are held on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. On these days of meeting with the friars, they perform penances in the churches. During Holy Week they flagellate themselves in most solemn processions. They take particular care in bringing their children to be baptized. When they fall sick, they at once hasten to confess, and they have great faith and confidence in the priest merely laying his hands upon their heads. They are very subservient to him. When the bell tolls for the Ave María and the praying for the dead, they all come out either in their corridors or in the fields wherever the call reaches them, and in a loud voice they pray *Ave Marias*, and for the dead the *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria*.

They all assist in a body in the building of the churches with all good will, as can be seen by the many we have built, all spacious and neat. The first of their fruits they offer to the church in all reverence and good will. Lastly, they are all very happy and recognize the blindness of idolatry from which they have emerged and the blessings they enjoy in being the children of the church. This they often admit.¹⁴⁸

LIII

PIOUS TASKS OF THE FRIARS IN THESE CONVERSIONS

Since the land is very remote and isolated and the difficulties of the long journeys require more than a year of travel, the friars, although there are many who wish to dedicate themselves to those conversions, find themselves unable to do so because of their poverty. Hence only those go there who are sent by the Catholic king at his own expense, for the cost is so excessive that only his royal zeal can afford it. This is the reason that there are so few friars over there and that most of the convents have only one religious each, and he ministers to four, six, or more neighboring pueblos, in the midst of which he stands as a lighted torch to guide them in spiritual



REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF SAN GREGORIO ABÓ.
(Photo. by C. F. Lummis, 1890)

as well as temporal affairs. More than twenty Indians, devoted to the service of the church, live with him in the convent. They take turns in relieving one another as porters, sextons, cooks, bell-ringers, gardeners, refectioners, and in other tasks. They perform their duties with as much circumspection and care as if they were friars. At eventide they say their prayers together, with much devotion, in front of some image.

In every pueblo where a friar resides, he has schools for the teaching of praying, singing, playing musical instruments, and other interesting things. Promptly at dawn, one of the Indian singers, whose turn it is that week, goes to ring the bell for the Prime, at the sound of which those who go to school assemble and sweep the rooms thoroughly. The singers chant the Prime in the choir. The friar must be present at all of this and takes note of those who have failed to perform this duty, in order to reprimand them later. When everything is neat and clean, they again ring the bell and each one goes to learn his particular specialty; the friar oversees it all, in order that these students may be mindful of what they are doing. At this time those who plan to get married come and notify him, so that he may prepare and instruct them according to our holy council; if there are any, either sick or healthy persons, who wish to confess in order to receive communion at mass, or who wish anything else, they come to tell him. After they have been occupied in this manner for an hour and a half, the bell is rung for mass. All go into the church, and the friar says mass and administers the sacraments. Mass over, they gather in their different groups, examine the lists, and take note of those who are absent in order to reprimand them later. After taking the roll, all kneel down by the church door and sing the *Salve* in their own tongue. This concluded, the friar says: "Praised be the most holy Sacrament," and dismisses them, warning them first of the circumspection with which they should go about their daily business.

At mealtime, the poor people in the pueblo who are not ill come to the porter's lodge, where the cooks of the convent have sufficient food ready, which is served to them by the friar; food for the sick is sent to their homes. After mealtime, it always happens that the friar has to go to some neighboring

pueblo to hear a confession or to see if they are careless in the boys' school, where they learn to pray and assist at mass, for this is the responsibility of the sextons and it is their duty always to have a dozen boys for the service of the sacristry and to teach them how to help at mass and how to pray.

In the evening they toll the bell for vespers, which are chanted by the singers who are on duty for the week, and, according to the importance of the feast, they celebrate it with organ chants, as they do for mass. Again the friar supervises and looks after everything, the same as in the morning.

On feast days, he says mass in the pueblo very early, and administers the sacraments, and preaches. Then he goes to say a second mass in another pueblo, whose turn it is, where he observes the same procedure, and then he returns to his convent. These two masses are attended by the people of the tribe, according to their proximity to the pueblo where they are celebrated.

One of the week days which is not so busy is devoted to baptism, and all those who are to be baptized come to the church on that day, unless some urgent matter should intervene; in that case, it is performed at any time. With great care, their names are inscribed in a book; in another, those who are married; and in another, the dead.¹⁴⁹

One of the greatest tasks of the friars is to adjust the disputes of the Indians among themselves, for, since they look upon him as a father, they come to him with all their troubles, and he has to take pains to harmonize them. If it is a question of land and property, he must go with them and mark their boundaries, and thus pacify them.

For the support of all the poor of the pueblo, the friar makes them sow some grain and raise some cattle, because, if he left it to their discretion, they would not do anything. Therefore the friar requires them to do so and trains them so well, that, with the meat, he feeds all the poor and pays the various workmen who come to build the churches.¹⁵⁰ With the wool he clothes all the poor, and the friar himself also gets his clothing and food from this source. All the wheels of this clock must be kept in good order by the friar, without neglecting any detail, otherwise all would be totally lost.

The most important thing is the good example set by the friars. This, aside from the obligation of their vows, is forced upon them because they live in a province where they concern themselves with nothing but God. Death stares them in the face every day! Today one of their companions is martyred, tomorrow, another; their hope is that such a good fortune may befall them while living a perfect life.¹⁵¹

LIV

DEDICATION

This, Most Holy Father, is the state of that new and primitive church which the seraphic sons of Saint Francis, its only workers, have founded and watered with the blood and lives of ten of their brethren. In their name and in the name of all those who now continue to promote this work at the cost of so many hardships, but with a rich harvest of more than five hundred thousand souls converted to our most holy Catholic faith, I come to offer this church to the obedience, protection, and support of your Holiness, as its rightful prince and master. Likewise, in the name of all those nations, their princes and elders, who most urgently have begged me to do so, I offer their obedience to your Holiness, asking with all humility that you, here, bestow upon them your holy apostolic and paternal blessing, as on true sons of the church, of which they are duly proud. And again, in their name and in the name of all those who may be converted and baptized in the future, with all the humility I can command and which I owe, I kiss the foot of your Holiness.

Alonso de B. mauides

APPENDICES

I

FATHER BENAVIDES TESTIFIES AGAINST RUNAWAY NEGRO SLAVES. VERACRUZ, MARCH 24, 1609¹

In the city of Veracruz, on March 24, 1609, in the presence of Father Baltasar de Morales, commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and before me, the present officer (familiar) and appointed notary, there appeared voluntarily and without being summoned, a friar who gave his name as Fray Alonso de Benavides, a preacher in the order of Saint Francis. He said he was a native of the island of San Miguel, more than thirty years of age, and at present a resident and in charge of the reduction of runaway negro slaves (cimarron negroes) in the neighborhood of this jurisdiction.

He was instructed to state what he had to say and to tell the truth in every respect.

He said that what he had to say for the discharge of his conscience was that some four or five months before, when this witness was among the said cimarron negroes, he witnessed the marriage of a mulatto woman to a negro. There was some opposition from the mother of the mulatto woman, as this witness was told that she was opposed to the marriage. This witness wanted to put a stop to the concubinage in which they were living, which they also desired to do in order to live properly. When he discussed this matter with some of the people, a negro named Francisco Algola, slave of La Matosa, told this witness that he could not marry them without the consent of the mother of the mulatto woman and of the negro who ran away with the other mulatto woman, carrying her to the said jungle (*monte*) where he had his *ranchería*. He expressed doubt and difficulty as to the said marriage being

1. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 284, fol. 715.

valid without the said consent. This witness reprehended the said Francisco Algola, who at first was not sure that the marriage would be legal; later he admitted his error and asked for forgiveness. Asked if what he said was the general notion current among the said negroes, he said he remembered that another negro named Francisco Macambi [?] from the valley of Villaseca, which he did not know where it was, said on a certain occasion that the marriage of the jungle was not the same as of the city.

He stated also that the usual food on Fridays, Saturdays, and fasting days was, before this witness came to live among them, meat. This despite the fact that they lived near a river and that there are others, this witness does not remember how many, within half a league and others two leagues from their rancherías in which there were all the fish they wanted. Besides, they have maize, frijoles, calabashes, and other products of the land, in addition to eggs, which they could eat on such days. This witness berated them for it, and although his reprehensions were of some effect, still they did not completely abandon their practices. Further, this witness saw them once roasting meat on a Friday. This was the day before he left them. He sent some negro servants to see whether they ate the meat, and they returned to report that they were eating it.

Further, on another occasion it happened that a negro named Alonso Volador, *maestre de campo* of Juan Cabeza, came to challenge the negroes at the ranchería where this witness was, because they had welcomed him in their ranchería, which was that of Mangralquere [?]. This witness tried to calm and pacify him, asking him to attend mass that our Lord might kindle the eyes of his soul. The said *maestre de campo* replied with contempt and anger, saying that he had no use for his mass, and that he was a deceiver.

This is what this witness had to state, in keeping with his oath. He was charged with secrecy and he so promised and signed, FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, Baltasar de Morales Batista. All of which took place before me, Matías de la Oña [?], appointed notary.

II

LETTER OF BENAVIDES TO THE INQUISITOR. CUERNAVACA, SEPTEMBER 24, 1621¹

Sir:

My special devotion for your Grace and my pride in being a son of your holy tribunal, which I have served on many occasions before and since becoming a friar, induce me to notify your Grace that near this convent of Quahnauac [Cuernavaca], where I live, some runaway slaves, negroes, have been squatting for the last few years. Two or three of them have been apprehended, and they stated that their captain, who has not been caught yet, has a snake which visibly speaks to him. These arrested negroes declare that they have seen and heard likewise a small stick the size of a finger, which stick speaks and eats like people. When the black captain goes away from his ranchería to steal, the snake goes out first to learn where there are chickens, then it comes to tell him publicly in front of the other negroes. Then he goes away, and the snake remains to watch the others and does not allow them to leave the ranchería until the captain gets back. When he is sleeping, the snake rests on his shoulder and awakens him when people come.² And other things of this sort.

This matter is in suspense until your Grace notifies and orders me what I should do. I shall obey as a dutiful son of yours and of the holy tribunal. In order that your Grace may remember me as such, I am the one who handled the case at Toluca concerning the litigation my friars carried on against the judge of the Marquis, which concerned some blasphemies uttered on that occasion by some people. I showed my commission to your Lordship as my master, whom I wish our Lord to preserve in the dignity which you merit, etc.

Quahnauac, September 24, 1621. Your devoted chaplain and servant, FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES. [There is a rubric.]

1. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 486, fol. 204, included as appendix by France V. Scholes in "The Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. VII, pp. 73-74, Santa Fe, 1932.

2. A plain instance of voodooism.

III

ELECTION OF BENAVIDES AS CUSTODIAN
OF NEW MEXICO. MEXICO, OCTOBER 19,
1623¹

At the convent of Saint Francis in Mexico, on the nineteenth day of October, 1623, there gathered in a plenary assembly of the definitorio our father provincial, Fray Domingo de Portu, the father-definitors Fray Francisco de Rojas, Fray Antonio Pardo, Fray Roque de Figueredo, and Fray Lucas Benítez: and since, at a previous meeting of the definitorio, the office of custodian of our custodia of New Mexico had been declared vacant, in view of the fact that the first elected custodian of this custodia, Father Fray Miguel de Chavarría, had completed his triennium, all of the definitors, unanimously and in complete accord, selected for the office Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, at the present time guardian and preacher of our convent at San Juan Temamattlac in this province, because of his religious fervor and learning. They voted and elected him to the office of custodian and signed their names: Fray Domingo de Portu,² minister provincial; Fray Francisco de Rojas, definitor; Fray Antonio Pardo, definitor; Fray Roque de Figueredo, definitor; Fray Luis Benítez, secretary of the definitorio.

This is a proper and faithful copy of the original, which I so certify. FRAY ALONSO DE VOTETAR, secretary of the Province.

1. Biblioteca Nacional, México, legajo 9, número 8.

2. Written Domingo de Portu by Vetancurt in his *Crónica*, pp. 336 and 363, and Domingo de Oportu in his *Menologio Franciscano*, p. 478.

IV

SUPPLIES FOR BENAVIDES AND COMPANIONS GOING TO NEW MEXICO, 1624-1626¹

To the factor, Martín de Camargo, five thousand pesos common gold² for the purchase of the supplies necessary for the preparing, provisioning and dispatching of his Majesty's sixteen wagons that were to go to New Mexico, of which sum he was to render an accounting, according to the disbursement order from the royal officials, dated August 22, 1624, of which a memorandum was made. He received the money himself, as is shown by his receipt—5,000 pesos.

To Antonio Santana, pharmacist, 910 pesos common gold, paid him for medicines and drugs, which, as is established by a certification of the factor, Martín de Camargo, were delivered to him for outfitting the Franciscan friars who in 1624 went to the provinces of New Mexico and for those who are living there, and which, according to the prices set forth in the margin of a memorandum signed by Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, custodian of the said friars, is in uniformity with the sum total of the medicines which were supplied the Philipines in the preceding years. This amounted to 1,191 pesos and one tomin, which, with a discount of 25 per cent, in accordance with the contract with his Majesty, left 893 pesos, five tomines. This, together with 39 pesos and 6 tomines, the cost of the vessels and boxes in which the medicines were shipped, totals 933 pesos and 3 tomines. Of this he was paid only the sum stated in this entry [910 pesos], since the royal audiencia had not authorized the expenditure of more than this amount. And thus he gave the gold pesos listed below to the friars as alms; this appears by the disbursement of the said royal officials dated on September 26, 1624, of which a record was made, and he received the money in person, as appears from his receipt—910 pesos.

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Contaduría*, 726.

2. At this time the *peso de oro común* was the equivalent of the silver peso of 8 reales, or tomines, which in turn consisted of 34 maravedís each. The *ducado* amounted to 375 maravedís, and the *peso de oro de minas* to 450 maravedís.

To the said Juan Real, majordomo of the wagons which were sent to the province of New Mexico in the year 1625 at his Majesty's expense, 600 pesos of the said common gold. This sum was paid him on account of the amount due him for the said journey, for the trip to New Mexico and return, with bond, which he gave to the satisfaction of the royal officials, to make the said journey without absenting himself until he delivered in Mexico the said wagons, mules, and other equipment delivered to him with the wagons, and to render a report and a receipt of it all. This appears from a disbursement of the royal officials of January 25, 1625; recorded. He received the money in person, as appears from his receipt.

To the ten soldiers listed below, 2,700 pesos common gold, which by order of Viceroy Marquis of Cerralvo, dated January 21, 1625, were ordered paid to them for the trip they were to make that year to the provinces of New Mexico as escort and guard of the supplies belonging to his Majesty and the Franciscan friars who were going with the wagons. The payment was for the round trip and the stay there, as follows:

Captain Francisco Gómez, encomendero of the province of New Mexico	200 pesos
Captain Tomás de Alviso, also encomendero ...	200 pesos
Alférez Juan de Tapia, also encomendero	200 pesos
Captain Domingo González	300 pesos
Captain Pedro Muñoz Lobo	300 pesos
Alférez Diego de Santa Cruz	300 pesos
Alférez Hernando Sambrano	300 pesos
Alférez Francisco Merino	300 pesos
Juan Rodríguez, blacksmith, soldier	300 pesos
Antonio Rodríguez, the same	300 pesos

This amounts to the said 2,700 pesos of the said gold. The men formally obligated themselves to serve on the said journeys and not to desert; or to return the money to the royal treasury, in addition to incurring the penalties established by law. This is shown by a disbursement of the royal officials, dated January 28, 1625, and recorded. They received the money in person and gave receipts.

To Marcos Hernández, 7,584 pesos, 5 grains in common

gold, paid on account on the 18,084 pesos, 5 grains gold, for the goods and supplies detailed below and which, at the royal auction of July 12, 1624, he agreed to supply for equipping and dispatching the twelve Franciscan friars who went to the provinces of New Mexico, and for fourteen others already there who are engaged in religious teaching and in administering the holy sacraments to the pacified Indians in those provinces, and in other divine services. This was in accordance with a decree of the royal audiencia of New Spain, dated May 25 of the said year. The bidding was made on the basis of prices of the goods shipped to the said friars in the year 1620 and was 500 pesos less than the total cost of the said goods at the prices paid in 1620, according to the certification furnished by the *factor*, Martín de Camargo, and was as follows:

Sixteen arrobas of salt pork, at 4 pesos per arroba,	64 pesos
Fourteen arrobas of cheese, at 6 pesos, 3 tomines per arroba	89 pesos, 2 ts.
Six arrobas of shrimps, at 5 pesos per arroba	30 pesos
Ten arrobas of haddock, at 4 pesos, 4 tomines per arroba	45 pesos

228 pesos, 2 ts.

Seven arrobas of dogfish, at 5 pesos per arroba ...	35 pesos
Four fanegas of lima beans, at 3 pesos per fanega ..	12 pesos
Four fanegas of lentils, at 12 pesos per fanega	48 pesos
Five fanegas of frijoles, at 4 pesos per fanega	20 pesos
Four fanegas of salt, at 9 pesos and 4 tomines per fanega	38 pesos
Four copper ladles weighing 60 pounds, at 7 reales per pound	52 pesos, 4 ts.
Four copper kettles weighing 100 pounds, at the same price	87 pesos, 4 ts.

521 pesos, 2 ts

Six frying pans, at 18 reales each	13 pesos, 4 ts.
Six brass mortars weighing 40 pounds, at 7 reales per pound	35 pesos

Twelve copper pans weighing 100 pounds, at the same price 87 pesos, 4 ts.

One hundred and sixty yards of Michoacán frieze for two tents, at 4 reales per yard 80 pesos

Twenty-four pounds of stout thread to sew them, at 4 reales per pound 12 pesos

749 pesos, 2 ts.

One gross of maguey twine 16 pesos

Twelve mules with saddles and bridles, at 100 pesos each 1,200 pesos

Twenty-four pairs of Cordoban shoes, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ pesos per pair 36 pesos

One hundred and seven Mexican blankets, *i. e.*, 24 for the 12 friars, 31 for the infirmaries, and 52 for the 26 friars, two for each one, at 3 pesos, 4 tomines each 374 pesos, 4 ts.

2,376 pesos, 6 ts.

Twelve boxes with lock and key, one for each of the friars, at 3 pesos per box 36 pesos

Four hundred and thirty-nine yards of Rouen linen, *i. e.*, 72 yards, namely, 6 for each of the 12 friars; 55 yards for amices and purificators; and of the remaining 312 yards, 12 yards for each one of the 26 friars; at 5 tomines per yard, 274 pesos, 3 ts.

Twelve pairs of saddlebags, at 22 reales each 33 pesos

2,720 pesos, 1 tn.

Twenty-four pairs of monk's leggings, at 2 pesos per pair 48 pesos

Two hundred and seventy-one yards of Anjou linen, 108 of them for 12 mattresses for the 12 friars, and the remaining 163 yards for the infirmaries, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ reales per yard

118 pesos, 4 ts., 6 gr.

Twenty friars' hats lined with kidskin, with cords, at 6 pesos and 4 tomines 130 pesos

3,016 pesos, 5 ts., 6 gr.

Twelve cases with silk cords of tools, consisting of knives, scissors, and a heavy needle [for sewing sandals], at 5 pesos each 60 pesos

Twelve leather bags for wine, at 2 pesos each 24 pesos

Twelve traveling bags for bedding made of Michoacán frieze, at 10 pesos each 120 pesos

Eleven breviaries, revised, with the services of Saint Francis, at 9 pesos each 99 pesos

Eleven frontals of Chinese damask, with the borders of brocatel and the fringes of silk, lined with Anjou linen, at 35 pesos each 385 pesos

3,704 pesos, 5 ts., 6 gr.

Eleven chasubles, with stole and maniple of damask and brocatel, the fringes lined with Castile buckram, at 29 pesos 319 pesos

Two sets of dalmatics of the same materials, each set including 2 dalmatics, at 27 pesos each 108 pesos

Two sets of cords for the above, at 60 pesos each, 120 pesos

Two copes, likewise of damask, with borders of brocatel and fringes and cords of silk, at 30 pesos 60 pesos

4,311 pesos, 5 ts., 6 gr.

Eleven albs of very fine Rouen linen, with point lace, the collar bands hemstitched and embroidered, at 25 pesos each 275 pesos

Eleven surplices, likewise of Rouen linen, at 9 pesos, 4 tomines each 104 pesos, 4 ts.

Eleven pairs of altar cloths of Rouen linen, each 6 yards long, with 6 hemstitches each, at 5 pesos 110 pesos

Twelve palls of Rouen linen, with corporals, chalice covers, purificators, and small silk cover for the host, at 12 pesos per set 132 pesos [*sic*]

4,933 pesos, 1 tn., 6 gr.

Three velvet mangas for crosses, trimmed with silk tassels, at 40 pesos each manga 130 pesos

Two figures of Christ, on wooden crosses a yard and half high, 35 pesos each 70 pesos

Eleven pairs of wooden processional candleholders, gilded, at 11 pesos each pair 121 pesos

Eleven pairs of taffeta mangas for the above, at 12 reales per pair 26 pesos, 4 ts.

5,260 pesos, 5 ts., 6 gr.

Thirty-eight marks and four ounces of silver, which was the weight of 11 chalices, with gold-plated patens, and the chalices plated likewise inside, with engraved base, at 3 marks and 4 ounces each, at 65 reales the mark.... 312 pesos, 6 ts., 6 gr.

For the gold and the making of the above 11 chalices, at 24 pesos each 264 pesos

Eleven missals, recently revised, bound, at 15 pesos each 165 pesos

Eleven pairs of brass candleholders, at 3 pesos per pair 33 pesos

Eleven pairs of snuffing scissors, at 3 tomines per pair

4 pesos, 1 tn.

6,039 pesos, 5 ts [*sic*]

A wooden tabernacle, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards high by $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, octagonal in shape, its interior and appurtenances all gilt and laterals and panels adorned with oil paintings, all of it ornamented,

210 pesos

Half an arroba of incense, at 14 pesos per arroba... 7 pesos

Half an arroba of copal, at 8 pesos per arroba 4 pesos

Eleven small tin coffers, with compartments, containing three chrismatories of tin in each, at 9 pesos per coffer, 99 pesos

6,359 pesos, 5 ts.

Eleven tin host boxes, at 5 reales each 6 pesos, 7 ts.

Twenty-four papers of pins, at 2 tomines each 6 pesos

Eleven small shirts of Chinese goods to be used as surplices [for altar boys], at 6 pesos each 66 pesos

Five oil-painted images, with gilded and ornamented frames, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards high by 2 wide, at 50 pesos each 250 pesos

Eleven chalice covers of Rouen linen, at 6 reales each 8 pesos, 2 ts.

Eleven henequen bags [?] at 1 peso each 11 pesos

6,707 pesos, 6 ts.

Six pieces of Canton damask, at 18 pesos each .. 108 pesos

Eleven Turkish carpets, at 13 pesos each 143 pesos

One pound of twisted Mixtecan silk 16 pesos

For some iron molds to make wafers 50 pesos

Twelve black sieves [*cedazos*] and twelve white ones, at 4 tomines each 12 pesos

Three large choir books, at 40 pesos each 120 pesos

Five bells, each weighing 8 arrobas, at 6 reales per pound 750 pesos

7,906 pesos, 6 ts.

Five hand bells for consecration, at 2 pesos each .. 10 pesos

Twenty-four small locks, at 12 reales each 36 pesos

Five copper holy-water vessels, at 20 reales each, 12 pesos, 4 ts.

One brass lamp 33 pesos

One set of flageolet and bassoon 150 pesos

Another set of trumpets 36 pesos

8,184 pesos, 2 ts.

Eleven pairs of tin wine vessels with pewter dishes, at 6½ pesos per pair 71 pesos, 4 ts.

Five copper holy-water vessels, at 5 pesos and 4 tomines each 27 pesos, 4 ts.

One pall of red damask with borders of brocade, gilded at the center, with hem and valance drips, for the holy sacrament 120 pesos

Eleven bags, with embroidered corporal cloths, at 4 pesos each 44 pesos

Of [San] Juan of Puebla [*sic*] 50 pesos

Sixty-three [seventy-three] arrobas, eighteen pounds, and twelve ounces of manufactured Castile wax, at 22 pesos per arroba 1,622 pesos, 2 ts., 8 gr.

10,119 pesos, 4 ts., 8 gr. [*sic*]

Twenty-six hundred yards of fine monk's sackcloth, at 8 reales, less 12 maravedis, per yard . . . 2,485 pesos, 2 ts., 5 gr.

Three hundred and twelve yards of light linen stuff, at $4\frac{1}{4}$ reales per yard 165 pesos, 6 ts.

Twenty-six reams of Genoa paper, at 3 pesos per ream 78 pesos

Fifty-two sets of butcher knives, ten in each, at 1 peso per set 52 pesos

Fifty-two pairs of scissors, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ pesos [reales], 16 pesos, 2 ts.

12,916 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Fifty-two pairs of Mexican leather sandals, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ pesos per pair 78 pesos

Twenty-six pounds of domestic thread, at 2 pesos per pound 52 pesos

Twenty-six dozen awls, at 3 pesos per dozen 78 pesos

Sixteen hundred needles, 312 of them for shoemakers, at 3 reales per dozen, and the remaining 1,288 for dressmaking, at 10 reales per hundred 25 pesos, 6 ts.

Two boxes of ready-made mule- and horseshoes, containing 25 dozen, at 5 pesos each dozen 125 pesos

13,275 pesos, 5 ts., 1 gr.

One set of farrier's tools, consisting of hammer, tongs, and hoof parer 5 pesos

Seven pipes, 22 arrobas, 10 cuartillas of wine, at 168 pesos each pipe of 25 arrobas 1,325 pesos, 7 ts., 3 gr.

One hundred and six arrobas of olive oil, at 5 pesos each arroba 530 pesos

Twenty-six arrobas of Castile vinegar, at 5 pesos and 6 reales per arroba 149 pesos, 4 ts.

15,286 pesos, 0 ts., 4 gr.

Eighteen Rouen linen bedsheets containing six yards each, at 6 pesos per sheet 108 pesos

Thirty shirts of Rouen linen, at 4 pesos each . . 120 pesos

Thirty pillows of the same, at 10 reales each, 37 pesos, 4 ts.

One hundred and thirty boxes of preserves of quince meat

and peaches, which weighed 12 arrobas and 11 pounds, at 7 pesos and 4 tomines per arroba 93 pesos, 2 ts., 4 gr.

Six and one half arrobas of sweetmeats, at the above price 48 pesos, 6 ts.

15,693 pesos, 4 ts., 8 gr.

Twenty arrobas and 20 pounds of white sugar, at 4 pesos and 6 tomines per arroba 98 pesos, 6 ts., 4 gr.

Five pounds and 3 ounces of saffron, at 17 pesos and 4 tomines per pound 91 pesos, 7 ts.

Three [thirteen?] pounds and 4 ounces of pepper, at 7 reales per pound 11 pesos, 4 ts., 9 gr.

Nine pounds and 1 ounce of cinnamon, at 1 peso per pound 9 pesos, 0 ts., 6 gr.

16,904 pesos, 7 ts., 3 gr. [*sic*]

Eight arrobas and 15 pounds of *pasta* [noodles], at 8 pesos per arroba 68 pesos, 6 ts., 4 gr.

Six and a half arrobas of Condado almonds, at 68 pesos per quintal 110 pesos, 4 ts.

Thirteen copper cuppings, at 2 pesos and 4 tomines each; and 7 others of glass, at 2 tomines 24 [34] pesos, 2 ts. [*sic*]

Thirteen large syringes, at 20 reales each .. 32 pesos, 4 ts.

Thirteen sharp razors, at 14 reales each 22 pesos, 6 ts.

Thirteen pointed lancets, at 7 reales each .. 11 pesos, 3 ts.

Seven pairs of barber's scissors, at 12 reales per pair

10 pesos, 4 ts.

16,195 pesos, 4 ts., 7 gr. [*sic*]

Two pairs of whetstones, at 20 reales per pair 5 pesos

One barber's grindstone 20 pesos

Fifty Mexican axes, at 17 reales each 106 pesos, 2 ts.

Twelve adzes, at 18 reales each 27 pesos

Twenty-five hoes, at 8½ reales each, 26 pesos, 4 ts., 6 gr.

Four saws, 3 of them small, at 20 reales each; and the large one, 20 pesos 27 pesos, 4 ts.

16,407 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Six chisels, at 1 peso each	6 pesos
Four large bolts, at 10 pesos each	40 pesos
Twelve assorted augers, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ pesos each	18 pesos
Six carpenter's planes, at 26 reales each	19 pesos, 4 ts.
Two arrobas of steel, at 25 pesos per quintal, 12 pesos, 4 ts.	
One barrel with all kinds of nails weighing two quintals, at 29 pesos per quintal	58 pesos
Three thousand tin-coated nails, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ pesos per hun- dred	105 pesos
	<hr/>
	16,666 pesos, 7 ts., 7 gr.

Three hundred spikes a span long, at 1 real each	37 pesos, 4 ts.
Five hundred nails a <i>jeme</i> long, at 3 pesos and 1 tomin per hundred	15 pesos, 5 ts.
Five hundred nails, of five hundred to the lot [?], at 7 reales per hundred	11 pesos, 7 ts.
Two thousand nails, of 1,000 to the lot, at 7 reales per hundred	17 pesos, 4 ts.
Another two thousand nails, of 2,000 to the lot, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ pesos per thousand	7 pesos
Four thousand nails, of 4,000 to the lot, at 18 reales per thousand	9 pesos
	<hr/>
	16,765 pesos, 2 ts., 7 gr.

Eight thousand nails, of 8,000 to the lot, at 12 reales per 1,000	12 pesos
Six thousand nails, making half an almud, at 10 reales per thousand	7 pesos, 4 ts.
Four thousand tacks, at 9 reales per thousand, 4 pesos, 4 ts.	
Twelve pounds of tinsel, at 11 reales per pound	16 pesos, 4 ts.
Two pounds of soft Mixtecan silk, at 16 pesos per pound	32 pesos
One mozetta of Chinese damask, trimmed with cord and tassel, lined with taffeta	30 pesos
Five sets of missals of the saints of the Franciscan order, at 2 pesos each	10 pesos
	<hr/>
	16,877 pesos, 7 ts., 7 gr.

Five ritual books, at 12 reales each	7 pesos, 4 ts.
Twelve pounds of wide-plaited cords, at 14 reales per pound	21 pesos
Six quintals of iron, at 11 pesos per quintal	66 pesos
Five antiphonal books composed by Fray Gerónimo Ciruelo of the Franciscan order, in one volume	40 pesos
Five choir books for mass and vespers, at 40 pesos each	200 pesos
Twelve plowshares with steel edges, at 22 reales each	33 pesos

17,245 pesos, 2 ts., 7 gr.

Two gross of ordinary rosaries, twelve dozen to the gross, at 13 reales per dozen	39 pesos
One hundred Mexican iron hoes, at 4 tomines each, 50 pesos	
Half a ream of ecclesiastical certificates, at the rate of 13 pesos per ream	16 [6] pesos, 4 ts.
Thirty pesos of macaw feathers	30 pesos
One gross of little bells	13 pesos
Twelve bundles of glass beads, at 2 pesos per bundle	34 [24] pesos

17,407 pesos, 6 ts., 1 gr.

Four bridle saddles with stirrups, bridle, and other appurtenances, at 30 pesos each	120 pesos
Twelve dozen round Flemish padlocks, at 10 pesos per dozen	20 [120] pesos
Twenty-four large rosaries, at 3 tomines each	9 pesos
Twelve writing cases [sets] with scissors, knives, and cords, at 5 pesos each	60 pesos
One one-hundred weight barrel of fleshy native olives	10 pesos
Two arrobas of capers, at 8 pesos per arroba	16 pesos

17,652 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Six pounds of lavender, at 4 reales per pound	3 pesos
Twelve pounds of rosemary, at 2 tomines per pound	3 pesos

Two arrobas of Castile rice, at 5 pesos per arroba,	10 pesos
Two flasks of Campeche honey, at 10 pesos each..	20 pesos
Four pounds of cloves, at 14 reales per pound	7 pesos
Four pounds of ginger, at 4 tomines per pound ..	2 pesos
One pound of nutmeg	4 pesos

17,691 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Fifteen packing boxes, 1 yard long, $\frac{2}{3}$ wide, and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard deep, in which some of these goods were packed, at 18 reales each

33 pesos, 6 ts.

Seven other boxes, $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards long, $\frac{1}{2}$ yard wide, and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard deep, in which were shipped seventy arrobas of wax, at 5 pesos each

35 pesos

Two other large boxes, 1 yard long, a yard deep, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ spans wide, in which were packed four horse saddles, at 5 pesos each

10 pesos

17,770 pesos, 5 ts., 1 gr.

Two other large boxes, 1 yard long, 1 yard deep, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ spans wide, in which 520 pounds of sugar were shipped, at 6 pesos each

12 pesos

Two other large boxes, in one of which were packed one hundred preserve boxes, and in the other the sweetmeats, the one 5 pesos and the other 2 pesos and 2 tomines ..

7 pesos, 2 ts.

Another big box, $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards long, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard wide, and $\frac{2}{3}$ deep, in which were packed the linen, bedsheets, cases for the corporals, and other goods

3 pesos

17,792 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Two other large boxes, 3 yards long, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a yard in width and depth, in which were packed the pictures, canvasses, and some processional candle holders, at 8 pesos each, 16 pesos

Another large box, $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard long, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard wide, and $\frac{2}{3}$ deep

3 pesos

Two other large boxes in which were packed the two figures of Christ and the socket pans of the processional candle holders. They were 2 yards long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide, and $\frac{2}{3}$ deep, at 6 pesos each

12 pesos

17,823 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Two more large boxes, $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards long, 2 yards wide, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a yard in depth, in one of which was packed the base of the altar, and in the other the cornice, at 6 pesos each 12 pesos

Another large box wherein was packed the case in which the image of the Virgin is kept. It was $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards long, $1\frac{1}{3}$ yards wide, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard deep 12 pesos

Another box, $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards long, $\frac{3}{4}$ wide, and $\frac{2}{3}$ deep, in which was packed the Virgin 5 pesos

17,852 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Another box, $3\frac{1}{2}$ spans square, in which was packed the middle section of the retablo 4 pesos

Another large box, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard wide, in which were packed the pilasters and cover for the retablo 5 pesos

Another box, 3 spans square, in which was packed the pedestal for the Virgin 3 pesos

Another box, 2 yards long and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a yard wide, in which were packed the two round columns 4 pesos

17,868 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Three other boxes, in two of which were packed the frying pans, ladles, and copper kettles and jars, and in the other the capers. Each box was a yard long 6 pesos, 6 ts.

Eighty-four and a half yards of frieze for packing, at 4 reales per yard 42 pesos

Thirty light blankets for wrapping the ciborium and the crucifixes, at 5 reales each 18 pesos, 6 ts.

Forty shepherd's lunch bags [seroon], twenty of them at 1 real and the other twenty at 2 reales 7 pesos, 4 ts.

17,943 pesos, 7 ts., 1 gr.

Sixteen light blankets, in which all the wax was packed, at 5 reales each 10 pesos

Twenty-six covered hampers, in which were shipped the oil, cheese, and hams, at 6 reales each 19 pesos, 4 ts.

Thirteen sacks, in which were sent the frijoles, lima beans

[*habas*], lentils, and oil, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ pesos each, 12 pesos, 1 tn., 4 grs.
 [*sic*] [19 pesos, 4 ts.]
 Five big chests with locks and keys, at 3 pesos each, 15 pesos
 Four quires of paper, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ tomines each 6 pesos
 Six loads of hay for packing 4 pesos

18,005 pesos, 2 ts., 5 grs.

Two pounds of stout thread, at 4 tomines per pound, 1 peso
 Six dozen lengths of ordinary rope, at 5 reales per
 dozen 3 pesos, 6 ts.
 Fifteen hides for cutting into thongs, at 3 pesos
 each 45 pesos
 One barrel for shipping an arroba of vinegar 2 pesos
 Wages to a carpenter who took care of packing these
 goods 12 pesos
 Transportation of all these goods from the places where
 they were bought until they were placed on the wagons, 15 pesos

18,084 pesos

All of the above goods amounted to 18,084 pesos. They were received by Father Fray Alonso de Benavides of the Franciscan order, as is shown by receipts which he gave on November 14 and 28, 1624, before Luis Sánchez de Escobar, his Majesty's notary. Of the other 10,500 pesos, ten thousand were deducted for the sum given him on July 30, 1624, on this account, as is shown in the first pages of this memorandum. The other 500 pesos were what, according to the said bidding, he was to take less than the cost of the said goods, the cost of which was certified by testimony of the notary of the royal treasury. This was verified by testimony from the board of accounts [Tribunal de Cuentas] and the said *factor* in other statements. This is shown by the order of disbursement of the royal officials of January 28, 1625; recorded. Nevertheless, according to this statement, only 4,104 pesos, 6 tomines, and 9 grains were paid. For the balance, he was given a voucher for collection on July 7, 1625, and the said Marcos Hernández received the money and gave a receipt.

To Marcos Hernández 3,479 pesos, 1 tomin, and 8 grains

common gold, which were paid to him as the balance of the 7,584 pesos, 5 grains, authorized on January 8, 1625, out of the 18,084 pesos, 5 grains, which was the value of the articles and goods that he delivered and that had been contracted for at the royal bidding. These goods were for provisioning and dispatching the friars who are going to the provinces of New Mexico, devoting themselves to religious teaching and the ministering of the holy sacraments to the Indians who have been pacified in the said provinces. Of the said amount of 7,584 pesos, 5 grains, only 4,104 pesos, 6 tomines, and 9 grains were paid, as is shown on fol. 246 of the preceding debit account, and there were still due him the 3,479 pesos, 1 tomin, and 8 grains of this entry. This is shown by the certification of the royal officials, and their disbursement order of July 11, 1625, which is a matter of record. He, himself, received the money and gave a receipt.

Further, the said royal officials are to be credited with 2,010 pesos, common gold, in accordance with an order from the royal audiencia of May 25, 1624, endorsed by the secretary, Francisco Morán de la Zerda. This sum was paid in person and in cash on September 2 of the said year to seventeen Indians, seven of them married, the others single. This group went to the provinces of New Mexico with the sixteen wagons of his Majesty, in charge of Juan del Real, its majordomo, bringing the belongings of the said Franciscan friars who were being sent there by order of the royal audiencia for the conversion and instruction of the natives of those provinces, and of the soldiers who went along as escort. They were paid at the rate of 130 pesos to each married Indian, 110 to the unmarried, and in return were to take care of the wagons during the round trip from Mexico and the stay in New Mexico. According to this list, disbursements were as follow:

Juan Sebastián, married, captain, native of Guadalajara,	on October 14 of the said year	130 pesos
Diego Hernández, native of Zacatecas, the same...		130 pesos
Diego Alonso, native of Guanajuato, the same ..		130 pesos
Diego Xuárez, single, native of Querétaro		110 pesos
		<hr/> 500 pesos

Thomas Gerónimo was paid as a single man, even though married, because his wife was in Zacatecas	110 pesos
Cristóbal Juan, native of New Mexico, the same.	110 pesos
Diego Andrés, native of Xocotitlán, the same ..	110 pesos
Martín Xemes, native of Zacatecas	110 pesos
Juan Pascual, single, native of the City of Los Angeles [Puebla]	110 pesos
Francisco Miguel, native of Zacatecas	110 pesos
Juan Francisco, native of Tacuba, married, on September 19, received	130 pesos
Sebastián Xuárez, married, native of San Juan del Mezquital	130 pesos
Gaspar Melchor, native of Tezcoco, single	110 pesos
Juan Fernández, native of [the barrio of] Santiago [del Tlaltelolco], Mexico, married	130 pesos
Pedro Juan, native of [the barrio of] San Sebastián in Mexico, the same	130 pesos
	<hr/>
	1,900 pesos
Bernardo Pedro, native of Tacuba, single, on October 9	110 pesos
	<hr/>
	2,010 pesos

This amounts to the said 2,010 pesos of the said gold received, as has been stated, by the said Indians, each one of them the amount stated in the entry, as appears from the above list and the agreement to make the trip, both going and returning, and the stay there, and to obey the orders of Juan del Real, majordomo of the wagons. Done by an order of said royal officials on August 27, 1626, which was recorded. Issued by virtue of a decree of the royal audiencia authorizing the said payment. [There is a rubric.]

V

APPOINTMENT OF FATHER ORTEGA AS
NOTARY OF THE HOLY OFFICE. SANTO
DOMINGO, JANUARY 6, 1626¹

In the town and convent of Santo Domingo of this custodia, conversion of Saint Paul, in these provinces of New Mexico, on January 6, 1626, Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, of the order of our father, Saint Francis, custodian of this custodia, ecclesiastical judge there by apostolic authority, stated that since the inquisitors of New Spain had honored him with the appointment as first commissary of the Holy Office in these provinces in order that he should read and proclaim there the general edicts of our holy Catholic faith and investigate all the cases relating to the Holy Office in the same manner as is done by other commissaries of the Holy Office, and had authorized him to appoint officials for this purpose who should perform their duties satisfactorily, therefore the said father commissary said that he would appoint, and he did appoint, as notary for these cases and for reading the holy edicts of our holy Catholic faith, Father Fray Pedro de Horteiga of the order of our father, Saint Francis, priest, preacher, and guardian of the convent of the Asunción de Nuestra Señora, only parish of the city of Santa Fe. Which appointment as notary, I, the said father, Fray Pedro de Horteiga, accepted with the proper oath, *in verbo sacerdotis*, which I took before the said father commissary, and I take it anew to serve and discharge the said duties of the Holy Office with all fidelity, legality, and secrecy. In testimony of which I signed it together with the said father commissary. FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, commissary. FRAY PEDRO HORTEGA, notary. [There is a rubric.]

1. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 356; included as an appendix by Scholes in *Church and State in New Mexico*, pp. 99-100.

VI

PLANS FOR BENAVIDES' RECEPTION IN
SANTA FE AS COMMISSARY OF THE HOLY
OFFICE. SANTO DOMINGO, JANUARY 6,
1626¹

At the aforesaid town, convent, day, month, and year. Since there has never been a commissary of the Holy Office in these provinces and since this is the first time that the Holy Office has appointed one in the person of the said father commissary, Fray Alonso de Benavides, in order to accord him the treatment befitting his office, he was instructed to settle the matters of the Holy Office with the proper care, above all in a new land such as this where they are not acquainted with them. He wrote a letter in his own hand and bearing his own signature to Admiral Don Felipe Sotelo Osorio, who had just arrived in the same supply train as governor and captain general of these provinces. He wrote likewise another one in his own hand and signature to the cabildo of the city of Santa Fe, headquarters of the Spaniards who serve in these frontiers, notifying them that the inquisitors, Doctor Juan Gutiérrez Flores, Licenciado Gonzalo Mecía Lobo, Doctor Don Francisco Bazán y Alborno, apostolic inquisitors in this New Spain, had honored him with the appointment as first commissary of the Holy Office in these provinces in order that he should read and publish there the edicts of our holy Catholic faith and take charge of all the matters pertaining to the Holy Office in the same manner as is done by the other commissaries of the Holy Office in the posts assigned to them. The said father commissary felt that this brought great honor to the said gentleman as well as to the cabildo and other Spaniards, for since they were the ones who planted the faith in this land, helping with their arms the Franciscan friars who were preaching the gospel, they too would share this bulwark of our holy Catholic faith: the tribunal of the Holy Office which defends it. Since the celebration day of the conversion of Saint Paul

1. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 356; also in Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 100.



PUEBLO OF ZUÑI FROM THE SOUTH. (Photo. by A. C. Vroman, 1900)

was so near, the 25th of this month of January, on which day the glorious saint is honored as the general patron on account of the marvelous things he has done in this region, it seemed to the father commissary that on this day the holy edicts should be read in the church of the said city, and the said father commissary accepted in the name of the Holy Office. To these letters and suggestions both the said governor and the cabildo replied, expressing pleasure at being so honored, saying that they would always be grateful and obedient to the Holy Office. They asked the father commissary to make his entrance into the said city on the 24th of the said month, the day before that of the conversion of Saint Paul, in order that they might receive him as its general ecclesiastical judge by apostolic authority as are received all the other custodians in this land, and also to demonstrate their pleasure and joy in receiving him as a commissary of the Holy Office, to whom from then on they submitted with special inclination and humility. Wherefore the said father commissary arranged his entrance for the said day, which I certify. FR. ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, commissary. [Rubric.]

Given before me, FR. PEDRO DE HORTEGA, notary. [Rubric.]

VII

ENTRANCE OF BENAVIDES INTO SANTA FE, JANUARY 24-25, 1626¹

On January 24, 1626, Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, commissary of the Holy Office in these provinces of New Mexico, having left the town and convent of Santo Domingo the preceding day to make his first entrance in the said villa as commissary of the Holy Office, which now and for the first time was established in these provinces, said that for this function it was necessary to make the proclamation in the said villa that very day and to appoint the officials who were to do it, inasmuch as the edicts of our holy Catholic faith were to be read and proclaimed with the usual solemnity on the following day. Thus he appointed Captain Manuel Correa Falcón, well

1. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 356; also in Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, pp. 101-102.

born and of good reputation, to the office of alguacil mayor of the Holy Office; likewise he named the sargento mayor of these provinces, Francisco Gómez, to carry the standard of our holy Catholic faith with the arms and emblem of the Holy Office. He, too, was of good repute and one of the best qualified in these provinces.

The father commissary accompanied by them and by me, the present notary, Fray Pedro de Horteiga, and by all the friars of this custodia, on the said 24th of this January, entered the said city. At the outskirts of the city there came to welcome him the governor, alcaldes, cabildo, and all the other people, properly arranged on horseback in war array. The governor with his pennant and the others welcomed him with much courtesy and affection, firing great salvos with their harquebuses and artillery, placing him in the position of honor. He was likewise received in the church with the solemnity with which the friars usually welcome their prelates for the first time, for the said father commissary also held this office, and with even greater honors, saying that since they had planted our holy Catholic faith in these provinces among so many barbarous nations, as friars of St. Francis, faithful sons of the holy Roman church, they were also planting the tribunal of the Holy Office, since it was a friar of St. Francis whom the Holy Office was sending with such honor for this purpose. On this and other occasions, they displayed the affection and obedience they hold for the holy tribunal.

When the said governor, alcaldes, and cabildo had accompanied the said father commissary to his cell and left him there, they in the same manner accompanied the alguacil mayor through the principal streets, announcing, as is customary, that on the following day the edicts of our holy Catholic faith would be read and published in the parish church of the city, and that no one should fail to be present. Every time they made the announcement they made a salvo with the harquebuses and bugles. On that night, quite a stormy one, they lighted their luminaries and celebrated as much as they could. On the next day, the 25th of the month, day of the conversion of Saint Paul, at the time of high mass, the said governor, alcaldes, cabildo and all the other people and the

harquebusiers came to the cell of the said father commissary to accompany him to the church. This they did, the banner of our holy Catholic faith being carried before them in the hands of the said sargento mayor, accompanied by the captains. Behind him came the alguacil mayor, accompanied by the friars, and I, the said notary, with the most prominent friars of this custodia. The said father commissary walked between the present governor and his predecessor, who was there at the time.²

In this order we entered the church up to the place of the father commissary, which was on the side of the gospel at the main altar. He had a kneeling chair with a cushion, and opposite him, on the other side, a platform covered with a carpet where I, the present notary, sat and also the alguacil mayor and the sargento mayor, who carried the banner. The said governor took his seat at the transept of the church, and high mass began. It was sung by Father Fray Ascensio de Zárate, the former vice custodian, two prominent guardians acting as deacons. The gospel being finished, I, the said notary, rose; flanked by the standard of faith and the alguacil mayor, I received the edicts from the hands of the father commissary, mounted the pulpit, and read them in a loud and intelligible voice so that all might hear them. I returned them to the said father commissary at his place. Then began the sermon by Father Fray Alonso de Estremera, teacher of theology. He delivered a great sermon. During the mass, at the appropriate time, *pax*³ was given, first to the father commissary and then to the governor. After mass the same officials again accompanied the father commissary to his cell in the same order as before. At his cell the governor, alcaldes, and cabildo once more offered themselves to him, acknowledging him as commissary of the Holy Office, and saying that in the discharge of his office they would serve and aid him in everything as faithful Christians of the church and the holy tribunal. The father commissary replied with very kind words for all, to which I testify, which met with general applause. FR. ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, commissary. [Rubric.] FR. PEDRO DE HORTEGA, notary. [Rubric.]

2. The incumbent governor was Felipe de Sotelo Osorio, who came in the same train with Benavides. Juan de Eulate's term had expired in 1625.

3. The blessing, "God be with you!"

VIII

ELECTION OF PEREA AS CUSTODIAN OF
NEW MEXICO.¹ TLASCALA, SEPTEMBER 25,

1627

On September 25, 1627, there was held a plenary assembly of the definitorio² at the convent of the Ascension in Tlascala in order to elect a custodian for New Mexico, since Father Fray Alonso de Benavides had completed his term. The following fathers were present: Fray Juan de Elormendi,³ censor in the Inquisition; Fray Nicolás Gómez, preacher; Fray Gerónimo Bazán, censor in the Inquisition; Fray Gabriel Zurita, definitor; Fray Alvaro Rodríguez, custodian; and Fray Miguel de la Cruz, censor in the Inquisition and provincial of the province of the Santo Evangelio, who served as presiding officer. His Paternity presented the names of Fathers Fray Estevan de Perea and Fray Juan de Salas to fill the office of the said custodia. Father Fray Estevan de Perea was unanimously elected, without a dissenting vote, and was confirmed in this office by our father provincial. This decision was signed by Fray Miguel de la Cruz, provincial; Fray Juan de Elormendi; Fray Nicolás Gómez; Fray Gerónimo Bazán; Fray Gabriel Zurita; and Fray Alvaro Rodríguez.

This copy agrees with the original and was properly and faithfully made, which I so certify. FRAY FRANCISCO DE OCHANDIANO, secretary.

1. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Legajo 9, doc. 8. On the back of fol. 22 there is a decree issued at Tezcoco on June 20, 1628, whereby the fathers who volunteer for the conversions in New Mexico are incorporated in the province and are granted voting privileges.

2. The definitorio was a standing committee of officials—definitors—who assisted the provincial in administering the affairs of the province. A custodia, such as New Mexico, was an administrative area which had not attained to the full status of province, and hence was under the supervision of a province, in this case the Santo Evangelio of Mexico. Each of these units was made up of the local convents, where a group of friars lived under the guidance of a guardian.

3. Given as Juan de Eormendi by Vetancurt in *Menologio Franciscano*, p. 447, and as Juan de Enormendi in his *Crónica*, p. 360.

IX

MEMORIAL TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE
REGARDING THE REQUEST OF DOMINI-
CANS TO ENTER NEW MEXICO, FEBRUARY3, 1631¹*Most eminent and reverend Sirs:*

Fray Alfonso de Orduña, provincial prior of the province of Mexico of the order of the preaching friars in the West Indies, and in his name Fray Juan del Castillo, solicitor general of said province, report to your eminences that in New Mexico, from that part in which they live to a distance of 1,500 miles to the north, there are many who worship in the Catholic faith, but they are in very great need of friars, through whose aid they may be led to the way of salvation.

However, since only brothers of the order of St. Francis are present in New Mexico, therefore, in order that workers may not be lacking for the great harvest, the brothers of the order of St. Dominic of the said province of Mexico, inasmuch as they are nearer to the above-mentioned regions, earnestly desire that they be transferred there that they may assist in the salvation of those souls.

Hence the above-mentioned provincial seeks permission to send thirty Dominican friars from Mexico to the aforesaid New Mexico with the same privileges which are usually shown and granted to the missionary brothers sent to the Indies, and to choose those whom the same provincial knows are fired with more fervent zeal for charity, through whom he hopes, with God's aid, for an increase in the Catholic faith no less than has been accomplished in Mexico with the aid of the preaching friars in spreading the faith.

To the most Eminent Cardinal Pamphylus

With authority.

The solicitor general of the Dominicans has called on the

1. Consult the Archivio di Propaganda Fide, *Memoriali*, volume 391, folio 4 (text in Latin). (On the reverse:) To the congregation for the propagation of the faith in behalf of the friars of the order of St. Dominic of the province of Mexico in the Western Indies. February 3, 1631. Congregation 135.

secretary and made a request of this mission with the usual authority granted for the West Indies, knowing that the Franciscans, who were the first to enter New Mexico, have asked for the help of the Dominicans, since they were closer at hand. The selection of individuals may be left to the provincial and definitors of Mexico, instructing them to submit a detailed report concerning the land of New Mexico, the docility and ability of its people, and the fruits and conversions which the Franciscans have attained up to the present, and that every year they record in writing the progress of the mission, advising the Franciscans to do likewise.

X

DECREES OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION, 1631, REGARDING DOMINICAN REQUEST TO ENTER NEW MEXICO, AND MIRACLES PERFORMED THEREIN

FIRST DECREE,¹ FEBRUARY 3, 1631

His Eminence, Dominus Cardinal Pamphilius, refers to the urgent request of the Dominican fathers of the Province of Mexico in the West Indies that their provincial and definitors be granted the right to send thirty friars of said province for the propagation of the faith into New Mexico, 1,500 miles distant from the old Mexico, in which they have been called upon to help by the Franciscans, who there have accomplished a great conversion of the heathens. The Sacred Congregation grants the petition.

SECOND DECREE,² JULY 5, 1631

His Eminence, Cardinal Ubaldinus, refers to the report of New Mexico in North America of Fray Alfonso de Benavides of the order of Minorites of the Observance, which concerns the conversion of five-hundred thousand heathens to the Christian religion, of whom eighty-six thousand have already received

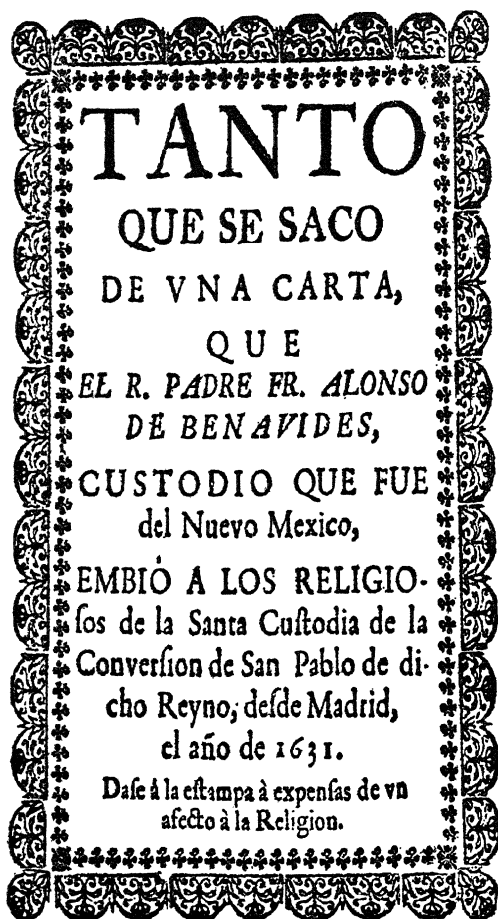
1. Archivio di Propaganda Fide, *Atti*, anno 1631, fol. 19. Ad. Congreg. Diei 3 Februarii 1631. Núm. 27 (text in Latin).

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 91. Ad. Congreg. Diei 5 Julii 1631. Núm. 6 (text in Latin).

the most holy sacrament of baptism, while the others are being instructed.³ Further, he refers to the miracles which God through the holy cross has wrought and to the soldiers who had accompanied the Franciscan missionaries, who had entered that region thirty years previously, especially to the miracle of the one born blind, then thirteen years of age, who regained his sight by touching the cross at the urging of the heathens whom the friars had taught.⁴ The Sacred Congregation orders that these matters be communicated to the Spanish nuncio in order that he may investigate the truth of the above report; that he transmit and make known the proofs and evidence which can be obtained; and that, for a canonical approbation of the above miracles, he order, on behalf of Cardinal Ubaldinus, and their Eminences, Cardinals S. Sixtus and Ginettum to require the reverend assessor of the Holy Office to prepare an appropriate document and send it to the said New Mexico or to the neighboring regions in order that they may conduct a legal hearing concerning them, to be sent to Rome in due time and to be referred to the protonotary of the Sacred Congregation.

3. Serious attention should not be given to these population figures, which are vastly exaggerated.

4. See the Memorial, paragraphs XL and L, *infra*, pp. 76-77, 96.



TITLE PAGE OF BENAVIDES' TANTO QUE SE SACÓ

XI

"TANTO QUE SE SACO," MAY 15, 1631¹

A

THIS MUCH WAS EXTRACTED FROM A LETTER THAT THE REVEREND FATHER, FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, FORMER CUSTODIAN FOR NEW MEXICO, SENT TO THE FRIARS OF THE HOLY CUSTODIA OF THE CONVERSION OF SAINT PAUL IN THE SAID KINGDOM.

MADRID, 1631.

Printed at the expense of a person devoted to the order.

DEDICATION

To the most noble and faithful officials of the royal treasury of his Majesty in this city of Mexico.

Those who bring to light some work, whether their own or that of someone else, eager to be assured of public approval, seek worthy patrons to whom to dedicate it, so that under their favor the work may live and be defended, not despised, but appreciated. For this reason, having decided to commit to the eternity of printing the letter which the venerable mother, María de Jesús de Agreda, wrote to the missionary fathers of New Mexico, it being my aim that letters so worthy of being known by all shall not remain in the darkness of oblivion, I chose, as a certain end, to dedicate it to your graces, as my real masters, because of the great affection and devotion, known to everyone, that you have shown for the order of our holy father, Saint Francis. As the said letter was the work of such a rightful daughter of our father, Saint Francis, and sent to the sons of such a great father who are supported in those regions by the waters of the fertile sea which your graces draw from the royal coffers of our king and lord to aid the friars of those regions, it has seemed proper to me to dedicate to your graces a work coming from those regions, as the original is preserved in the archives of that custodia. For if the sea diffuses itself like a mother through your gifts, the latter are like rivers with which the ministers promptly benefit the whole land, and if, once benefited, its treasury derives some profit,

1. For the bibliography of this document, consult Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, II, 342-356; cf. also *infra*, pp. 8-9, 200ff., and note 136.

it returns quickly to the mother: *unde exeunt flumina, revertentur*. The sea being the royal treasury from which your graces, faithful ministers, draw the waters with which to help those who dwell in those regions, as missionaries, I consider it very appropriate that if anything should leave that treasury, one should not apply anywhere else but to your graces. This being so, I properly reason that I must not address the above-mentioned work to anyone except you, as its only rightful owners. To you I express my cordial affection and wish you prolonged life and good health, and I humbly kiss your hands, etc.

Most dear and beloved father custodian and other friars of our father, Saint Francis, of the holy custodia of the Conversion of Saint Paul in the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico:

I give infinite thanks to the divine majesty for having placed me, unworthy as I am, among the number enjoying the happy good fortune of your paternities, since you are so deserving of heavenly favor that the angels and our father, Saint Francis, aid you. They personally, truly, and actually carry the blessed and blissful Mother María de Jesús, discalced Franciscan of the order of Concepción, from the town of Agreda, which is in the limits of Castile, to help us with her presence and preaching in all these provinces and barbarous nations. Your paternities remember very well that in the year 1628, when I was prelate there and your servant, I exerted myself, although it must have been especially directed by heaven, to go to New Spain and report to the viceroy and the reverend prelates of the more notable and unusual things that were happening in their holy custodia.

Having carried out this task, upon my arrival in Mexico the viceroy and the reverend prelates agreed that I should go to Spain to inform his Majesty, as the source of everything, and our father general. Being so Catholic and zealous for the salvation of souls, they bestowed a thousand favors upon me for the good news I brought them, in regard to the spreading of our holy faith, the apostolic zeal with which your paternities labor in those conversions, and the temporal increment which

the divine majesty has revealed as a reward for the zeal with which the king, our lord, favors and aids us.

With this letter I am forwarding to your paternities a printed Memorial which I presented to his Majesty and the royal Council of the Indies. It was so well received in Spain that I am planning to bring out a second printing for the satisfaction of the many who ask for it. Your paternities, please do not judge me inadequate, as I know very well that the Memorial is greatly so, considering how much it lacks and how much your paternities deserve. I prepared it in such brief form, even at the cost of not saying the many things that it does not contain, only to induce his Majesty to read it. Not only did he read it, but the members of his council all read it. They liked it so well that not only did they read it many times and learn it by heart, but they have repeatedly asked me for other copies. To satisfy these demands I have distributed four hundred copies. Our reverend father general sent some to Rome to his Holiness, in addition to the ones that I mentioned in the printed Memorial.

The times I have spoken to his Majesty and to his royal Council of the Indies, where ordinarily the affairs of the Indies are transacted, I have verbally and by many written testimonials in my hand told of what is transpiring in New Mexico. Here there was scanty information of New Mexico, as if God had not created it in this world. For this reason they did not know or appreciate how your paternities labor with apostolic zeal in that vineyard of the Lord. I hope in His divine majesty to be back among your paternities to enjoy the happy good fortune of your company,² although I confess I do not deserve it, and to bring to your paternities and to all that land very great favors from his Holiness and the king, our lord, for the solace of all and the spreading of the divine name.

When I arrived in Spain, which was on August 1, 1630, as soon as our reverend father general, Fray Bernardino de Sena [Siena], now bishop of Viseo, who is governing the order until the meeting of the general chapter,—I repeat, as soon as he learned of my report of the blessed nun who goes about there preaching our holy Catholic faith in the manner your paterni-

2. On several occasions, Benavides expressed his eagerness to return to New Mexico, three times in Appendix XI and once in Appendix XVIII-C.

ties know, his reverence told me at once that when he was commissary for Spain, before he became general, more than eight years ago, he received information that Mother María de Jesús, abbess of her convent in the town of Agreda, on the border between Aragon and Castile, had had some visions and accounts of the province in New Mexico. With the report I gave him and the one that had been sent to us at this time by the archbishop of Mexico, Don Francisco Manso, our reverend father general was inspired by such tenderness and devotion that he wanted to set out for the said town of Agreda, because the same thing I related had been told by Mother María de Jesús herself in the said years before, when he went in person to visit her convent, for it is under the jurisdiction of the order and the province of Burgos.

Face to face, Mother María de Jesús herself told the same story to our reverend father general, and now it was confirmed by what I told him. Since his many occupations did not permit him to go, he ordered me to look into it personally. He gave me authority to constrain the blessed nun through obedience to reveal to me all that she knew about New Mexico. I left this capital to fulfill this commission, arriving at Agreda on the last day of April, 1631.

First of all, I must state that Mother María de Jesús, present abbess of the convent of Conception, can not be twenty-nine years of age yet. She has a beautiful face, very white, although rosy, with large black eyes. Her habit, and that of all the nuns in that convent—they number twenty-nine in all—is just the same as our habit. It is made of coarse gray sackcloth, worn next to the skin, without any other tunic, skirt, or underskirt. Over this gray habit comes the one of white sackcloth, coarse, with a scapulary of the same material, and the cord of our father, Saint Francis. Over the scapulary there is a rosary. They wear no sandals or any other footwear except some boards tied to their feet, or some hemp sandals. Their cloak is of heavy blue sackcloth. They wear a black veil.

I will not stop to tell of the strictness of this venerable mother and of her convent, but only of that which concerns New Mexico. When I am worthy of seeing your paternities, of which I have great desire and hope, then I will tell about the



*La V. Madre Sor María de Jesús de Agreda
 Sacerdotisa est.*

MARÍA DE JESÚS DE AGREDA

marvelous things that our Lord brings about over there. Among other virtues that God granted this blessed mother is the eagerness for salvation of souls. From childhood she felt great grief for those who are damned, and particularly for the heathen, who, because of the lack of light and preachers, do not know God, our Lord. His Majesty revealed to her all the savage nations in the world that do not know Him, and she was transported by the aid of the angels that she has as guardians. Her wings are Saint Michael and our father, Saint Francis. She has preached in person our holy Catholic faith in every nation, particularly in our New Mexico, where she was carried in the same manner. The custodian angels of its provinces also came in person to get her by command of God, our Lord. The habit she wore most frequently was that of our father, Saint Francis; on other occasions it was that of La Concepción, together with the veil. However, she always wore the white sleeves rolled up, and the skirts of her white habit drawn up, so that the gray showed a great deal. The first time that she went was in the year 1620, and she has continued these visits so often that there were days when she appeared three and four times in less than twenty-four hours. This has continued without interruption until 1631.

My dear fathers, I do not know how to express to your pater-nities the impulses and great force of my spirit when this blessed Mother told me that she had been present with me at the baptism of the Pizos [Piros] and that she recognized me as the one she had seen there. Likewise she had helped Father Fray Cristóbal Quirós with some baptisms, giving a minute description of his person and face, even saying that although he was old he did not show any gray hair, but that he was long-faced and ruddy; that once when the father was in his church baptizing, many Indians came in and all crowded around the door and that she with her own hands pushed them on, getting them to their places so that they would not hinder him; that they looked to see who was pushing them and they laughed when they were unable to see who did it; that she pushed them on so that they would push the others, etc.

She also told me all we know that has happened to our

brothers and fathers, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López, in the journeys to the Jumanas, and that she asked the latter and instructed them to go and call the fathers, as they did. She gave me all their descriptions, adding that she assisted them. She knows Captain Tuerto very well, giving a detailed description of him, and of the others. She herself sent the emissaries from Quivira to call the fathers. The Indians themselves will testify to all of this, as she speaks to them in person. She described to me also the trip of Father Ortega, who was so fortunate as to save his life through the signs he found, all of which she mentioned to me. When she turned from the north to the east, she set out from a region of intense cold until reaching a warm and pleasant climate, and in that direction onward, although very far off, are those magnificent kingdoms, but that our father, Saint Francis, is conquering it all. She told me so many details of this country that I did not even remember them myself, and she brought them back to my mind. I asked her why she did not allow us to see her when she granted this bliss to the Indians. She replied that they needed it and we did not, and that her blessed angels arranged everything. However, I trust in divine providence that by the time this letter reaches the hands of your paternities some of you will have succeeded in seeing her, for I asked it of her most earnestly, and she promised she would ask God, and that if He granted it, she would do it most willingly.

She said that by setting out from Quivira to the east, although very far away, one would pass the threatening death signs seen by Father Ortega along the way so that our holy faith should not get there, for so it had been arranged by the devil; that many could be converted along the way if the soldiers would set a good example *res valde difficilis, sed omnia deo facilia*; that our father, Saint Francis, obtained a pledge from God, our Lord, that the Indians would become converted merely at the sight of our friars. God be infinitely praised for so many blessings.

I should indeed like to tell your paternities in this letter everything that the venerable Mother told me, but it is not possible. Nevertheless I have written down a great deal of it in a book which I shall bring with me for the consolation of all. She said that after traveling those long and difficult roads from

the east one would come to the kingdoms of Chillescas, Cambujos, and Jumanas, and then to the kingdom of Titlas; that these names are not the real ones, but something resembling them, because although when among them she speaks their language, away from there she does not know it nor is it revealed to her. That kingdom of Titlas, very large and very densely populated, is the one most frequently visited by her.³ Through her intercession our father, Saint Francis, led two friars of our order there. They baptized the king and many people, and there they were martyred. She says that they were not Spaniards; and that they martyred also many Christian Indians. The king preserves their bones in a silver box in the church that was built there. Once she took from here a chalice for consecration, and the friars used it for saying mass and for carrying the blessed sacrament in procession. All of this will be found there, as well as many crosses and rosaries that she distributed. She was martyred and received many wounds, and her heavenly angels crowned her, wherefore she attained martyrdom from our Lord.

Thus it seems to me this letter will suffice so that your paternities may be comforted in your labors by such a companion and saint. The Lord will grant that I come among your paternities so that you may learn of the things in the manner she has told them to me. I showed them to her in order that she should tell me if I had erred in anything and whether it was as had transpired between the two of us. To this effect I invoked the obedience from our most reverend father general that I carried for this purpose, and it was invoked also by the reverend father provincial of that province, her confessor, there present. Since it seems to me that her answer is going to bring your paternities great consolation and encouragement, as it has done around here, for the whole of Spain wants to move thither, I shall transcribe here what she replied in her handwriting. I retain the original to take it to your paternities and to all the provinces, naming each one of you by name. I have also the very habit that she wore when she went there. The veil radiates such a fragrance that it is a comfort to the spirit.

3. See the Memorial, paragraph L, p. 93.

B

COPY OF THE ACCOUNT WHICH THE BLESSED MOTHER MARÍA DE
JESÚS WRITES TO THE SAID FRIARS OF NEW MEXICO ⁴

I obey what your reverence, our father general; our father, Fray Sebastián Marcilla, provincial of this holy province of Burgos; our father, Fray Francisco Andrés de la Torre, who is the one who governs my soul; and your paternity, my father custodian for New Mexico, have asked me to tell in the name of your paternity whether that which is contained in these notebooks is what I have said, discussed, consulted, and talked about to your paternity concerning what the mercy of God and His just and immutable decisions have worked in my simple heart. Perhaps He chooses the most insignificant and unworthy individual to show the strength of His mighty hand so that the living may know that all things derive from the hand of the Father of Light dwelling on high, and that we attain everything through the power and strength of the Almighty. And so I say that this is what befell me in the provinces of New Mexico, Quivira, the Jumanas, and other nations, although these were not the first kingdoms where I was taken by the will of God. By the hand and aid of His angels I was carried wherever they took me, and I saw and did all that I have told the father, and other things which, being numerous, it is not possible to narrate in order to enlighten all those nations in our holy Catholic faith. The first ones where I went are toward the east, I believe, and one must travel in that direction to reach them from the kingdom of Quivira. I call these kingdoms with reference to our way of speaking, Titlas, Chillescás, and Caburcos, which have not been discovered. To reach them it seems to me that one will meet with great obstacles on account of the many kingdoms which intervene, inhabited by very warlike people who will not allow the passing of the Christian Indians from New Mexico, whom they distrust, and especially do they distrust the friars of our holy father, Saint Francis, because the devil has deceived them, making them believe that there is poison where the antidote is, and that they will become vassals and slaves if they become Christians, when it constitutes their liberty and happi-

4. See the Memorial, pages 93-96, and Appendix xxiv, p. 204 *et seq.*

ness in this world. It seems to me that the way to succeed would be to send friars of our father, Saint Francis, and for their security and protection to require that they be accompanied by soldiers of good repute and habits, men who forbear patiently the abuse that may come upon them. By example and patience everything can be endured, as the example helps very much. By discovering these provinces great work will have been done in the vineyard of the Lord.

The events which I have reported happened to me from the year 1620 to the present year, 1631, in the kingdoms of Quivira and the Jumanas, which were the last ones where I was transported and which, your paternity says, were discovered by the very persons of those holy padres through their good intelligence. I entreat, advise, and urge them in behalf of the Lord to labor in such a blessed task, praising the Most High for their good fortune and bliss, which are great indeed. For his Majesty appoints you His treasurers and disbursers of His precious blood and places in your hands its price, which is the souls of so many Indians, who, lacking light and someone to furnish it to them continue in darkness and blindness and are deprived of the most holy and desirable of the immaculate, tender, and delightful law and of the blessing of eternal salvation. The said padres must outdo themselves in this field of the Lord to please the Most High, for the harvest is abundant and the workers are few and they must exercise the greatest possible charity with these creatures of the Lord, made in His image and likeness with a rational soul to enable them to know Him.

Do not allow, my dear fathers and lords, that the wishes of the Lord and His holy will be frustrated and permitted to fail because of the many sufferings and hardships, for the Almighty will reply that He has His delights and joys with the sons of men. Since God created these Indians as apt and competent beings to serve and worship Him, it is not just that they lack what we, the rest of the Christian faithful, possess and enjoy. Rejoice then, my dear fathers, for the Lord has given you the opportunity, occasion, and good fortune of the apostles. Do not let it go to waste because of considerations of difficulty. Remember your duty to obey the Almighty and to extend and

plant His holy law regardless of the hardships and persecutions you may suffer in the emulation of your Master.

I can assure your paternities that I know with all exactness and light that the blessed ones envy you, if envy could exist among them, which is impossible, but I am stating it thus, according to our mode of expression. If they could forsake their eternal bliss to accompany you in those conversions, they would do it. This does not surprise me, for, as they see in the Lord, who is the main cause and object of their bliss and the voluntary mirror in which all recognize themselves, the special bliss enjoyed by the apostles and for which they stand out over the other saints on account of what they have suffered for the conversion of souls; for this reason they would leave the enjoyment of God for the conversion of one soul. This will be a reason for your paternities availing yourselves of the opportunity that offers itself to you. I confess that if I could buy it with my blood, life, or cruel sufferings, I would do it, for I envy the good fortune of your paternities. Because, although the Most High grants that I may attain this fruit in my life, it is not on a course where I may suffer as much as your paternities, nor that I deserve anything, since my imperfections prevent it. But since I am helpless, I offer with all my heart and soul to help those of this holy community with prayers and pious exercises. I beg my affectionate padres to accept my good will and desire and to let me partake of some of the minor tasks and undertakings carried on by your paternities in those conversions. I shall appreciate it more than whatever I do by myself, as the Lord will be highly pleased by the conversion of souls. This very thing I have seen in the Almighty, and I have heard His blessed angels tell me that they envied the custodians of souls who devote themselves to conversions. As ministers who present our deeds to the Most High, they affirm that the ones His Majesty accepts with greatest satisfaction are those who are occupied in the conversions of New Mexico. The reason for this, the blessed angel explained, is that as the blood of the Lamb was sufficient for all souls and that He suffered for one what He suffered for all, the Lord grieved more over the loss of one soul through lack of knowledge of our holy faith than over enduring as many martyrdoms and deaths as He created

souls. This should encourage such a holy occupation as well as much suffering to succeed in it.

As all that has been stated in my writing and that of my father custodian of New Mexico is true, being constrained by obedience, I signed it with my name. And I beg your paternities, all those I have mentioned here, in the name of the Lord himself, whom we serve and through whom I reveal this to you, to conceal and keep these secrets to yourselves, as the case demands that it should not be revealed to any living being.

From this house of the Concepción Purísima of Agreda,
May 15, 1631, SOR MARÍA DE JESÚS.

C

BENAVIDES TO THE MISSIONARIES IN NEW MEXICO REGARDING HIS INTERVIEW WITH MOTHER MARÍA DE JESÚS DE AGREDA [1631]

My dear fathers and brothers: I should very much have liked to write here for your greater consolation the many things I have recorded both by my hand and by that of this saintly mother regarding what our Lord has done through her in our behalf and support in those conversions. However, they are more to be retained in the heart than to be recorded. It seems to me that your paternities will feel relieved with the preceding accounts, which are all in her hand and signature, which I retain in my possession, as her style and thought, it is clearly seen, are evangelical.

I asked her whether we were proceeding in the right way in our conversions, not only in the buildings but also in the fields planted and whatever else is being done for the support and protection of the Indians. She replied that everything was very pleasing to our Lord, as it was all directed to the aim of the conversions, which is the greatest charity. She has earnestly taken it upon herself to commend your paternities to God, and also the peace and harmony between the governors and the friars, and to intercede for the conversions. Thus she commends everyone to God very earnestly, so that friars, governors, Spaniards, and Indians together and in harmony may worship and praise the Lord and above all may dedicate themselves to the bringing of the light of our holy Catholic faith to all those barbarous nations. Since His divine majesty employs us in that

ESCUELA MYSTICA

DE MARIA SANTISSIMA

EN LA MYSTICA CIUDAD DE DIOS,

En las Doctrinas, que dictò la Reyna de los
Angeles

A SU AMANTISSIMA SIERVA

LA VENERABLE MADRE

MARIA DE JESUS DE AGREDA,

Al fin de los Capítulos de los ocho Libros de las
tres Partes, impresas á la letra, como están
en sus Obras.

AL PRESENTE SEPARADAS

para que con mayor suavidad sean agradable pro-
vecho espiritual de las Almas de todos estados:

y en vez de *Carta Pastoral*

LAS DIRIGE

Con una previa exhortacion á los Feligreses de la
Diecefis del Obispado de Merida en sus quatro
Provincias de Yucatàn, Petèn, Cosumèl, y Tabasco,
y las reimprime divididas entre sí, y dispuestas
por su orden

El Illmo. Sr. Dr. D. JUAN IGNACIO MARIA
CASTORENA, T VRSVA, Obispo de Yucatàn, del
Consejo de su Magestad, &c.

Con licencia de los Superiores, en Mexico: Por Jo-
sepñ Bernardo de Hogal, Ministro, è Impressor de la
Santa Cruzada. Año de 1731.

TITLE PAGE OF MARÍA DE JESÚS DE AGREDA'S MOST FAMOUS WORK,
LA MÍSTICA CIUDAD DE DIOS

holy task let us not falter and fail by not withstanding everything and every occasion when we meet with opposition.

I realize also, dear fathers, that never did I deserve, because of my imperfections and limitations, to enjoy such peace as I desired. Nevertheless, I hope through the divine majesty that I may end whatever days He may grant me in the company and service of your paternities. His divine majesty knows how earnestly I desire it.

Your paternities please commend me greatly to all those Spanish gentlemen. Knowing that they have always had a kindly disposition toward me, I repay it fully by telling, as I have done, his royal Majesty and his royal Council of the Indies that they are true apostolic soldiers, both in the courage and good example with which they accompany us, whereby his Majesty considers himself well served. He promised to grant me whatever favor I asked in their behalf. The most important thing is that they must consider themselves fortunate in being protected by the blessed spirit of María de Jesús. She has seen them and commends them to God. So I thank them a thousand times, and God, for their being deserving. I have likewise told the Mother of the Christian spirit and virtue of all those Spanish women, of the humility and care with which they look after the neatness of the altars, and she said she also commends them to our Lord. I am also asking for the prayers of everyone.

I am sending likewise my congratulations for all the Indians, for they command her principal affection, because she goes to those remote and distant kingdoms; and, like spiritual children, to whom she has preached our holy Catholic faith and illuminated the darkness of their idolatry, she keeps them ever in mind in order never to forget them in her prayers. Blessed be such a land, and blessed be its fortunate inhabitants, since they command so many favors from heaven.

Your paternities' humble servant and son, FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES.

Our most reverend father general sends from here to your paternities his blessing together with that of our father, Saint Francis, for, as such true sons of his, you devote yourselves to

such an apostolic task. He has instructed me to express this wish to your paternities.

THE END

With the permission of the authorities. Printed in Mexico by Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, printer for the royal and apostolic tribunal of the Holy Crusade in this New Spain. Year of 1730. [See pages 9-11 of the present work.]

XII

ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF BENAVIDES IN SPAIN. MADRID, AUGUST

22, 1631¹

LETTER OF ART HOPTON, ENGLISH AGENT AT MADRID, TO LORD
DORCHESTER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF NEW
MEXICO AND THE JOURNEY OF ITS PROVINCIAL TO SPAIN TO SEEK
ASSISTANCE

May it please your Lordship:

Some years past the Fryers of the Order of St. Francis discovered in America that land which lies northward of New Spain and westward of Florida, which is since planted with colonies of Spaniards and is called New Mexico. The Fryers have ever since continued theyr resort to that country from whence (with the last Fleet that came from New Spain) the Provinciaall and another Frier came, to give an acc^t to the King of the state of the country, and to demand a supply of Religious Men, and an increase of maintenance; among other propositions that he hath made, he hath propounded (as I am told) to the Counsell of the Indies, that forasmuch as that Plantation runs northerly and must at length come to the westward of Virginia, it will be necessary to the safety of the Plantation, and to them to pass to it by the nearest way, to root out the English from that continent; this I am told is resolved on in the Counsell of the Indies, but whether order be given therein to Don Antonio de Oquenda (fol. 3^d) who went with the last Armada, or whether it shall be done by the next that goes or whether they intend to do it by a

1. From handwritten copy in Library of Congress, from original in British Museum, MSS. Stowe, 186, fol. 3.

fleet sett out from the Indies I cannot informe your Lordship but am using dilligence to know it.

Your Lordship's most humble servant, ART HOPTON.

Madrid, Aug. 22, 1631. To the Lord Viscount Dorchester.

XIII

SOSA AND BENAVIDES TO THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, 1631

A

CONSULTA OF THE COUNCIL, APRIL 8, 1631¹

Fray Francisco de Sosa, court commissary and secretary general of the Franciscan order, has explained how widely spread Christianity is in the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico, that more than 500,000 Indians are converted to our holy faith, that more than 86,000 of these are baptized, that more than 100 friars of the order are aiding in their conversion, that in addition to the convents in that province there are more than 150 pueblos and in each one of them a church and a very good Spanish villa, that their need for a bishop to administer the sacrament of confirmation and other pontifical acts is very great, and that, in order to reach a decision more promptly in this matter, it was sent to the fiscal. He reports that, from the information which he has of the remoteness and expanse of these provinces and of the great work which has been carried on in them for the conversion of these souls, he deems it proper that a bishopric be established in them and that whoever your Majesty appoints to this office should be a member of this holy order.

The Council, considering how important it is that these souls may have a pastor to rule and govern them and to attend to the other matters referred to above, is of the opinion that your Majesty (if you desire) should order the establishment of the said bishopric. And, in case that your Majesty decides on this policy, you may write to his Paternity and to your ambassador in Rome that he issue the orders for carrying it out.

DON FERNANDO RUIZ DE CONTRERAS, secretary.

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Guadalajara*, legajo 63.

[The document is endorsed:] "Ask for information about this from the viceroy of Mexico and from the archbishop, and in their absence from the cabildo." [Rubric of the king.]

B

CONSULTA OF THE COUNCIL, APRIL 8, 1631²

Sir:

Fray Francisco de Sosa, court commissary and secretary general of the Franciscan order, has explained that the establishment of a bishopric and the appointment of a bishop are of great importance and urgency for the education of the natives of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico and for their preservation in our holy Catholic faith, for it is more than thirty years since that Christian work was begun. Today more than 500,000 Indians are converted, and of these more than 86,000 are baptized. Moreover, more than 100 friars of this order are aiding in their conversion; and no others, no secular priests, have come to assist in this labor. In addition to the convents which this order has founded, there are more than 150 pueblos, and in each one of them a church where mass is said and the holy sacraments are administered. There is also a very good Spanish villa, together with other estancias and haciendas settled by Spaniards.

This land is very remote from New Spain, for the conversion effected by the friars is more than 400 leagues away, a distance that is traversed in wagons and among innumerable enemies, which involves a delay of more than a year. As a result, it is not possible to procure the holy oil every year and sometimes five or six years pass before it is brought. They lack the sacrament of confirmation, which is so necessary to strengthen the souls of the faithful. These difficulties would be avoided if there were a bishop to consecrate churches and to ordain priests from among the native Spaniards of that land, since they know its languages, and your Majesty would be spared the heavy costs in sending friars. Moreover, there would be someone to administer ecclesiastical justice and to grant dispensations for marriages. The establishment of this bishop-

2. *Ibid.*

ric can be made without expense to your royal treasury, with only the tithes now available, and these are increasing daily, especially now that rich silver mines have been discovered, to which many Spaniards are hastening in order to exploit them. Consequently, the farms and the raising of cattle will be plentiful, and in the beginning it is not very necessary that the land be richer than is the case.

Furthermore, these conversions are served by Franciscan friars who are devoid of human ambitions, and it is their order which has shouldered the burden of converting the natives of the Indies. Your royal predecessors, in view of this situation, gave them the first bishoprics in the Indies, and, assuming that the same reasoning applies in the first establishment [in New Mexico], may your Majesty be pleased that the one appointed as bishop in these kingdoms and provinces be of the same order; and he asks that your Majesty be pleased to order the establishment of the said bishopric and the appointment of a bishop in the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico to avoid the difficulties referred to.

In order that the desirability of this request might be more readily recognized, it was submitted to Doctor Juan de Solórzano Pereyra of this Council, your Majesty's fiscal, so that he might examine it and give his opinion. In it he says that, according to his information of the great expanse and remoteness of these provinces, and because of the great amount of work that has been carried on in them for the conversion of souls by the Franciscan friars, he judges it desirable that the said bishopric be created, and that the one appointed as bishop be a friar of this holy order.

Having considered this matter in the Council and how important it is that these souls have a pastor to rule and govern them and to attend to the other matters referred to, it has seemed that your Majesty (if you desire) should order the establishment of the said bishopric. And, in case that your Majesty approves, you may write to his Holiness and to your ambassador in Rome that he issue the necessary orders for carrying it out. May your Majesty order what you desire.

Madrid, April 8, 1631. [There are seven rubrics.]

C

ROYAL CEDULA TO THE VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN WHICH REPORTS THAT FRAY FRANCISCO DE SOSA, COURT COMMISSARY AND SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER, ASKS THAT A BISHOPRIC BE ESTABLISHED IN THE KINGDOM AND PROVINCES OF NEW MEXICO AND THAT A BISHOP BE APPOINTED³

THE KING

Marquis of Cerralvo, my kinsman, viceroy, governor and captain general of New Spain, or to the person or persons who may be in charge of its government:

Fray Francisco de Sosa, court commissary and secretary general of the Franciscan order, has informed me that the establishment of a bishopric is of great importance for the education of the natives of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico and for their preservation in our holy Catholic faith. It is more than thirty years since that Christian labor was begun and today more than 500,000 Indians are converted, of whom more than 86,000 are baptized. Moreover, more than 100 Franciscan friars are aiding in their conversion, and no others, no secular clergy, have come to the province to help. In addition to the convents which this order has founded, there are more than 150 pueblos, each with its church where mass is said and the holy sacraments are administered. There is a very good Spanish villa and also some estancias and haciendas settled by Spaniards. Since this land is very remote from New Spain and the conversion which the said friars have effected is more than 400 leagues away, a distance which is traversed in wagons among innumerable enemies and which involves a delay of more than a year, the result is that it is not possible to procure the holy oil every year and sometimes five or six years pass before it can be brought. They lack the sacrament of confirmation, which is so necessary to strengthen the souls of the faithful. These difficulties would be avoided if there were a bishop to consecrate churches, ordain priests from the native Spaniards of that land since they know its languages, and the heavy expenses incurred by my treasury in sending friars would

3. Printed in Gaspar de Villagr , *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Mexico, 1900), vol. II, Ap ndice Tercero, pp. 3-4.

be spared. Moreover there would be someone to administer ecclesiastical justice and to grant dispensations for marriages. The establishment of this bishopric could be effected without any expense to my treasury with only the tithes that are now available and which are increasing daily, especially since very rich silver mines have been discovered, to which many Spaniards are hastening in order to exploit them. As a consequence, the farms and the raising of cattle will be plentiful, for in the beginning it is not necessary that the land be richer than is the case.

Furthermore, since these conversions are served by Franciscan friars, so devoid of human ambitions, and it is their order which has shouldered the burden of converting the natives in the Indies, and my royal predecessors, in view of this situation, gave them the first bishoprics there: they asked me that, to overcome the difficulties referred to, the said bishopric be established in the said kingdom and provinces of New Mexico and a bishop be appointed.

This matter having been considered in my royal Council of the Indies, together with what my fiscal reported on it, and the Council having consulted with me, for I wish to know the advantages and disadvantages which this establishment may entail, I order you to inform me regarding this matter, so that, when informed, I may order what is best. Dated at Madrid, May 19, 1631. I THE KING. By order of the king, our lord. ANDRÉS DE ROZAS, secretary.

D

ROYAL CEDULA TO THE VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN.

See the enclosed cedula, take very punctual and exact account of the state of the conversion of the natives of New Mexico, and report on it and on the other matters in the said cedula and on whatever there may be on the subject.⁴

THE KING

Marquis of Cadereyta, etc.:

By my cedula of May 19, 1631, I ordered the Marquis of Cerralvo, my viceroy of New Spain, to inform me in regard to

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

the request of Fray Francisco de Sosa, court commissary and secretary general of the Franciscan order, who asked that a bishopric be established in the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico and that a bishop be appointed, as is explained more fully in the cedula referred to, and which reads:

[Here follows a copy of the cedula of May 19, 1631, given above.]

Desiring that this Christian province may increase and be strengthened in our holy Catholic faith and with the holy sacrament of confirmation, I have requested his Paternity that, while I with mature counsel am reaching a decision in regard to this establishment, he may authorize some of the more important friars (of the Franciscan order in that kingdom and provinces) to confirm the Indians; and since this matter of establishing a bishopric is of such seriousness and importance, as can be understood, it is my wish to charge you, as I do charge and order you, to examine the cedula incorporated herewith, and, mindful of what it treats of, let them give you very punctual and exact accounts of the state of the conversion of the natives of the said kingdom and provinces, and of the increase in the propagation of the faith.

Give me a report in regard to this and other matters referred to in the said cedula of what you may learn, so that, when I have examined it, I may order what may be most appropriate to the service of God, our Lord, and mine. Dated at Madrid, June 23, 1631. I THE KING. By order of the king, our lord. DON GABRIEL DE OCAÑA Y ALARCÓN, secretary.

E

LETTERS OF BENAVIDES, 1631¹

Sir:

I, Fray Alonso de Benavides, custodian of New Mexico, state that both in a printed Memorial and in others written by hand, I have brought before your Majesty the matters pertaining to those conversions, and that to help and protect them it is desirable to grant the points I am presenting herewith. All of

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Guadalajara*, legajo 63. On the cover sheet there is an entry which reads, in translation: "Assemble all the papers. October 6, 1631."

"Ask for information about this from the viceroy of Mexico and from the archbishop, and in their absence from the cabildo."

Complying with the request of your Majesty, the dispatches were written and sent by the fleet which sailed this year for New Spain. So it seems that there was no omission on the part of the Council in this matter, nor is there anything left to decide in regard to the memorials which the said Father Fray Juan [*sic*] de Benavides is said to have presented concerning these affairs, as the only memorial left is the one above-mentioned. Therefore we do not know what he wishes the *relatores* for, since in this most important matter we must wait for the reports which your Majesty ordered to be obtained; for what the friar seems to aim at is that this bishopric be granted to him, as can be deduced from his approaching some members of the Council to this effect. Furthermore, the things he tells in the printed memorial and by word are of such gravity and importance that their credence cannot be left alone to his Reverence. So, in order to reach the most appropriate decision it is better to wait for the reports that your Majesty has requested, for great inconvenience would result if we gave the memorial easy credence. When your Majesty is informed of the state of the matter, you will order what you deem best.

Madrid, September 16, 1631. [Five rubrics.]

XIV

ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION OF NEW MEXICO PRESENTED TO THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH BY ORDER OF HIS HOLINESS, POPE URBAN VIII, OUR LORD, BY FATHER ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, OF THE ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS, MINISTER OF THOSE CONVERSIONS, APRIL 2, 1634¹

FIRST KNOWLEDGE OF NEW MEXICO

Immediately after Emperor Charles V, through the intervention of the Marquis of the Valley, conquered and pacified New Spain with the apostolic authority of Alexander VI, Leo X, and Adrian VI, of glorious memory, at much expense, he sent twelve members of our religious order of the seraphic Saint Francis truly to convert these souls; these twelve missionaries alone baptized at that time more than fifteen million Indians, so that at present they are all Christians; and they soon learned that in the north there were numberless people, and this is the part which then they called New Mexico. The venerable father, Fray Marcos de Niza, in company with other fathers, and the same Marquis of the Valley, arrived in that country and traveled among numberless natives, to whom they brought for the first time the knowledge of the holy Catholic faith, and, planting crosses in all those parts, they returned to Old Mexico without taking any other action.

SECOND ENTRANCE

After some time, in the year 1540, the same Father Fray Marcos de Niza, with his companions, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Juan de Padilla, led by apostolic zeal, returned to follow those conversions, and the Catholic king sent four hundred soldiers in his company, commanded by the captain general,

1. *Rellatione delle conversioni del Novo Messico, presentata alla Sacra Congreg^{ne} di Propaganda Fide, de Mandata della S. di Papa Urbano VIII Nostro Signore per il Padre Fra Alonso de Benavides dell' Ordine di S. Francesco ministro di quelle conversione, 2 d'Aprili, 1634.* Archivio di Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 259, ff. 154-156 (220-221 in new numbering).

Don Francisco Vázquez Coronado. Having passed through many nations and traversed more than fifty very large cities, bringing to all those places the knowledge of the holy Catholic faith, they, passing through those countries, arrived in the province of Síbola, next to the great kingdom of Quivira, when the general got orders from the viceroy to return to Old Mexico with the same soldiers on account of new plans which he had, and the blessed father, Fray Marcos de Niza, and his companions remained here, preaching the holy Catholic faith; then all three were martyred by the barbarous idolatrous Indians.²

THIRD ENTRANCE

Then forty years passed, when it was not possible to enter those conversions again. In the year 1581, however, the viceroy having urgent orders from the Catholic king that he should not rest in those conversions, with Christian zeal, sent for a royal cedula, which, if it were not enough for the entrance of the Indies, at least was sufficient for the conversion of a province; and he sent to Spain also for all of his royal patrimony. In consequence of this, the blessed father, Fray Francisco López, and his two companions, Fray Juan de Santa María and Fray Agustín Ruiz [Rodríguez],³ accompanied by certain Spanish soldiers provided for every need for this journey by the viceroy, entered by different paths through infinite and indomitable nations with much labor and dangers, preaching our holy Catholic faith, and in one year arrived in New Mexico, where his other brothers had received martyrdom. But the soldiers, in view of their small force and the great number of barbarians, judged it too dangerous to remain here, and so they returned. But the aforesaid friars, having found the place they sought—there being many people to whom they could preach the divine word—stayed here among the Tioas [Tiwa or Tigua] nation, where, for showing them the falsity of their idolatry and the infinite truth of our holy Catholic faith, because of the Indians' hatred of it, all three were martyred.

2. As is well known, Fray Marcos accompanied Coronado as guide in 1540, but was sent back to Mexico from Hawikuh and did not suffer martyrdom.

3. See note 49, p. 242. This was the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition. In this summary of earlier historical events, Benavides cannot be regarded as an authority.

FOURTH ENTRANCE AND FOUNDATION OF NEW MEXICO

These entrances were continued both because of the apostolic zeal of the monastic fathers and the orders of the Catholic king; the latter made very large expenditures, in the years 1582, 1584, and 1590, without being able to convert people so rebellious and obstinate; so the friars returned, contenting themselves at least with having preached the divine word.

However, the Catholic king, being unable to tolerate such resistance, commanded that the whole energy of the fathers and soldiers should be devoted to pacifying and converting those barbarous and indomitable tribes. And so in the year of 1596 an apostolate of twelve seraphic friars was chosen and dedicated to the general conversion of those nations, who, by order of the viceroy of Old Mexico, should be accompanied by many soldiers. The latter were married, bringing with them their wives and children to settle the country. The captain there was a goodly Christian gentleman named Don Juan de Oñate, who bore the title of Adelantado of New Mexico.⁴ There was spent on this journey more than three hundred thousand escudos.⁵ The people arrived in New Mexico after much suffering, having taken a whole year; and although the Indians offered the usual resistance to the divine word, preached by the humble sons of Saint Francis, this time God showed His power, confirming it with miracles, so that there resulted the conversion of more than one hundred and fifty strongholds and cities of eight different nations who inhabited one or the other bank of the famous Rio del Norte or the area to the north for a distance of seven hundred miles wide and as many long, where those conversions have continued. Now we have founded there thirty-three convents of our seraphic religion, for up to the present no others have entered here, nor priests; and in every stronghold and city there is a large church where the sacraments are ministered and where now there are about one hundred thousand souls baptized.⁶

4. See Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*.

5. The approximate equivalent of \$150,000.

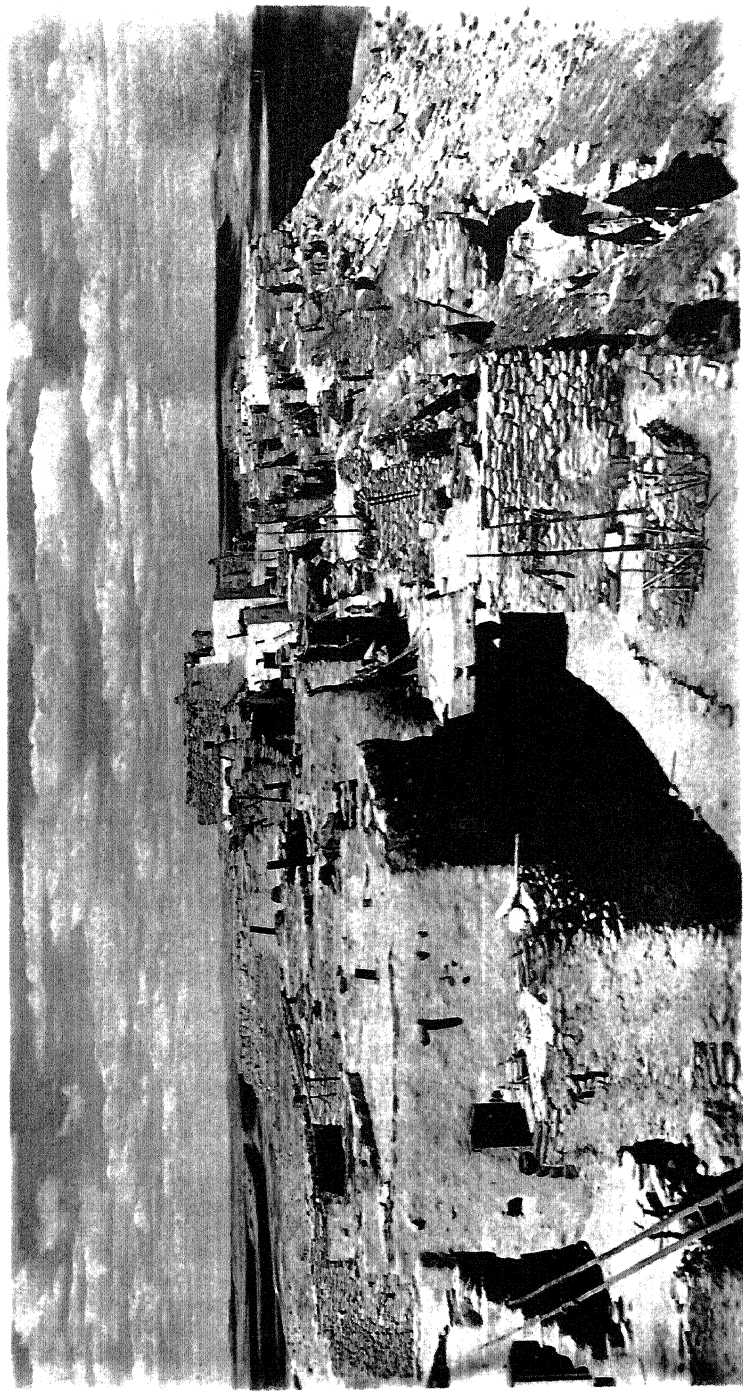
6. As usual, Benavides' figures are greatly exaggerated. As before mentioned, it was his earnest desire that more missionaries should be sent, consequently he was ever prone to exploit the importance of New Mexico as a field for missionary endeavor.

The blessed father, Fray Francisco de Escobar, apostolic friar, to whom God granted the gift of languages, commissary of those conversions, with his companion, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, lay brother of saintly simplicity, seeing the good fruits and labors of other friars, determined to enter the western part, on account of hearing of innumerable people there who were still in the darkness of idolatry. The Adelantado [Oñate] accompanied them with some soldiers, and having journeyed more than six hundred miles among diverse and numerous nations, the friar preached our holy Catholic faith in their own language.⁷ Arriving then at the South sea, they came to a very large port, which the Adelantado took in the name of the Catholic king of Spain. Entering to the waist in the water, armed with a shield in one arm and a sword in his hand and striking the water, he said, "I take possession for the king, our lord." And then the blessed Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, hearing of this captain's action, remembered that the word of God had taken possession of all this land of the Indies; therefore, imitating the captain, and with zeal and heavenly spirit, he took a crucifix in his hands and likewise entered the water up to his chest, and, making the sign of the cross with the crucifix, he said in a loud voice, "I take possession in the name of our Lord for our holy Catholic faith and for our holy mother church of Rome." By which action all were exemplified and pleased, and so they returned to their first places, leaving all that nation attached to our holy Catholic faith, although they continued to resist holy baptism.

ENTRANCE FROM NEW MEXICO TO THE EAST

There succeeded to the office of commissary of these conversions Father Fray Francisco de Velasco, a priest of virtuous life. Seeing how his predecessor, Fray Francisco de Escobar, entered to the west, he wished, through pious jealousy, to enter toward the east, where he knew there lived numberless natives. Taking for his companion Fray Pedro de Vergara, a lay brother of holy

7. It would hardly have been possible for anyone, in so short a time, to have acquired a preaching knowledge of the languages of "diverse and numerous nations."



THE HOPI PUEBLO OF WALPI. (Photo. by Peter G. Gates)

life, he went, accompanied by the Adelantado and some soldiers. Passing through many nations, he gave them the first knowledge of the holy Catholic faith, and having traveled more than six hundred miles, they came to see the kingdom of Quivira and other neighboring provinces. The said Padre Velasco was the first apostle who preached the word of God to them. He planted crosses everywhere, whereby he left the natives much attached to our holy Catholic faith. As a result of such expeditions, these conversions, with much labor of the friars, have been brought up to the present and perfect state which they enjoy today.

NEW CONVERSIONS OF NEW MEXICO IN THE TIME OF THE PONTIFICATE OF HIS HOLINESS, POPE URBAN VIII, OUR LORD

Since it had cost so much effort and the lives of the seraphic sons to plant the vine of the Lord, the divine majesty revealed that this entrance produced the largest and best fruit, it being accomplished during the happy time of the pontificate of his Holiness, Pope Urban VIII, our lord, and that his beatific hand should adorn and honor the first primitive church. In the year 1623, I, Fray Alonso de Benavides, was elected the first custodian minister of those conversions and the first commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico,⁸ having been occupied for more than twenty years in the service of such conversions and ministrations. In the first four years of my sojourn in New Mexico, the Catholic king commanded that I should be given twenty-five friars as my companions, and at another time thirty more, in which there were spent more than two hundred and seventy thousand escudos, both for the sustenance of the fathers as well as for the founding of new churches, and

8. On this point, Scholes ("Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," p. 53) remarks: "This would seem at first sight to indicate that Benavides claimed for himself the honor of first Custodian, but the statement may be subjected to some interpretation. The date 1623 is unquestionably right, . . . It is also true that Benavides was Commissary of the Holy Office in New Mexico, the first person, in fact, to have such an appointment. Now, is it not possible that the quotation may be made to read that he was the first person to hold both appointments—custodian and commissary of the Holy Office? Such an interpretation fits the facts entirely. If, however, the quotation is to be read so as to make Benavides the first Custodian, then the statement can not be supported by other evidence. In fact, other evidence proves that he was not."

curious gifts for winning the barbarous Indians, dealing with them peacefully, and leading them to the word of God. With all of this and the apostolic zeal and spirit of the many friars, they had already performed the greatest and most miraculous conversions which we had yet experienced, for here and in many other places and provinces our task and mission was to preach to them the holy Catholic faith.

To me fell the lot of converting the near-by Pira and Tompira nations.⁹ Even with the occupations of my office, the divine majesty worked in such a way with His holy word that, preached even by so weak an instrument, today they are all converted. Here I founded a church in every stronghold and town; and there are more than fifteen thousand souls.

In the year 1628 there was effected also the conversion of the great Apache nation on the western side toward Xila, as far as the last of the Navajo, which is the largest and most bellicose of all, where there are so many people that they cannot be reckoned in numbers.

The blessed father, Fray Pedro de Ortega,¹⁰ in the year 1629, went with a companion to the northern part more than three hundred miles until they arrived at a place within view of the kingdom of Quivira, preaching our holy Catholic faith and planting crosses everywhere, where there were often seen the gallows from which to receive the palm of martyrdom; and His divine majesty reserved this fate for him afterward in the Xumana nation, where, on account of the great zeal of this conversion and because of the suspicion of those idolatrous Indians, they poisoned him with the most cruel poison. He died while laboring to spread our holy Catholic faith.

Fathers Fray Juan de Salas and his companion, Fray Diego López,¹¹ went to the eastern part, more than three hundred and fifty miles, where they converted more than fifteen thousand souls of the nation of Xumanos, Japiés, and others, for there is in that region an infinite number of people. In these conversions God performed marvelous portents in confirmation of His sacred word, preached by the humble Franciscans.

9. See note 72.

10. See notes 129 and 134.

11. See note 137.

Father Fray Roque de Figueredo and Fray Francisco de Porras, with four other companions, at this time entered to convert the natives of Zuñi and Moqui [respectively], three hundred miles westward, where they converted more than twenty thousand souls, not without great labor and danger, as the blessed Fray Francisco de Porras died of poison. Because of their witchcraft and idolatry the [Zuñi] Indians also martyred the blessed Fray Francisco Letrado and Fray Martín de Arvide.¹²

GOVERNMENT AND METHOD TO BE OBSERVED IN NEW MEXICO

By command of the Catholic king, all of these conversions are provided with friars every three years and with all the needs for the foundation of the churches, where the friars ministered with apostolic authority; wherefore the propagation of our holy mother church grew every day, without which it would be impossible to live among those barbarous nations, so remote and distant, exercising the life and example which the apostolic office demands of those who practice it, keeping always in view the death which they saw some of their brothers suffer every day for preaching the very word of God which they promulgate.

The Catholic king, waiting upon such illustrious efforts and the great growth and expansion of that new church, determined in the year 1631 to establish a bishopric and to ask his Holiness, Pope Urban VIII, to confirm it.

At the same time his Majesty decided that the friars of Saint Francis who were here, as they were the first in every country of the Indies, should be appointed first, but up to this time no person has been nominated for the dignity of bishop.¹³

Again his Majesty ordered that there should be provided at his most liberal expense whatever was necessary for these conversions; that, although in these countries there had been discovered and found many gold and silver mines and other

12. Scholes ("Early Ecclesiastical History," pp. 53-54) mentions the fact that, although Fray Estevan de Perea had charge of the extension of the missionary work to these tribes, Benavides does not mention his name, although he "was undoubtedly the outstanding figure in the New Mexican Church in his day." For these friars, see notes 100, 105-107.

13. There are numerous references in the appendices to this volume pointing toward the desired establishment of a bishopric for New Mexico.

metals, he does not wish the friars to use them for their sustenance, as it would result in great contempt on the part of the idolatrous for the word of God and His ministers, all of which was punctiliously observed.

This is the condition in which at present one finds the conversions of New Mexico. For the sake of brevity I omit telling of the portentous miracles done by our Lord in these conversions, putting it all in larger reports which his Holiness, Pope Urban VIII, commanded me to make. I shall say only that here they have elected as their supreme patron and protector the most glorious apostle, Saint Paul, for on the day of his conversion he performed the most memorable and marvelous things, in particular appearing visibly on the day of the conquest of the peñol of Acoma,¹⁴ accompanied by the blessed Virgin Mary. So in the name of all the apostolic fathers, sons of humble Saint Francis as well as the other faithful ones, they ask the confirmation of this election and that they may recite the service with the octave, as they usually do out of devotion at this celebration and jubilee at this festival. And lastly, in the name of all those whom, with all humility, I represent, I have observed the rule and kissed the foot of our Lord as the universal head of His church, submitting all that has been written above to the honor and protection of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, whose orders and commands we shall always observe and obey. FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES.

14. See Villagr , *History of New Mexico*, pp. 264-267.

XV

DECREES GRANTING CONCESSIONS TO THE NEW MEXICO MISSIONS, JUNE 5 AND AUGUST 28, 1634

DECREE OF JUNE 5¹

His Eminence, Cardinal Pamphylus, referring to those things which were done by the fathers of the order of the Minorites of the Observance in New Mexico, and especially to the conversion of various peoples of North America, of their customs and superstitions, and the nature of the regions there existing, and of the obedience which the aforesaid peoples have maintained through the aid of Father Alfonso Benavides of this same order, the Sacred Congregation decreed as follows:

1. That this matter must be taken up with Cardinal de Monte, shortly to come to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining greater certainty on the contents in the report of the said Fray Alfonso.

2. After having secured the aforesaid certainty, the Sacred Congregation resolved that an affirmative reply should be given to the request of the petitioner, namely, the permission of indulgences in the celebration of the conversion of Saint Paul with the octave, of the apostolic mission under the prefecture of upper New Mexico for the time, and the creation of a new bishopric in the city of Santa Fe.

3. It approved the suggestion of the aforesaid Fray Alfonso for the sending of the Irish Brothers to Virginia and other places near New Mexico frequented by the English and the Dutch, for the restriction of the heretics, lest the heretics corrupt New Mexico.

DECREE OF AUGUST 28, 1634²

The Reverend Domodaeo, apostolic protonotary, referring to the part of the report on the missions of the Minorite friars

1. Archivio di Propaganda Fide, *Atti*, vol. 10, fol. 56. Ad. Congreg. Diei 5 Junii 1634, núm. 28.

2. *Idem*, fol. cxi, Ad. Congreg. Diei 28 Augusti 1634, núm. 27 (text in Latin).

of the Observance in New Mexico presented to the Sacred Congregation by Father Alfonso de Benavides, who was the first of those old servants to take the lead in the conversion of New Mexico through the friars of St. Francis, and referring thereafter to the martyrdom of six missionary friars for the Catholic faith, namely Father Marcos de Niza,* Father Juan de Padilla, Father Juan de la Cruz, Father Francisco López, Father Juan de Santa María, and Father Agustín Ruiz (Rodríguez), our Holy Father orders a special congregation to be called in the presence of his Eminence, Ginetto, concerning the said martyred friars, for which purpose the above Domo- daeo and protonotary, promoter of the faith, has summoned the Congregation of the Holy Rites.

XVI

PETITIONS OF BENAVIDES REGARDING TRIBUTE AND PERSONAL SERVICE BY THE INDIANS

A

TRIBUTES¹

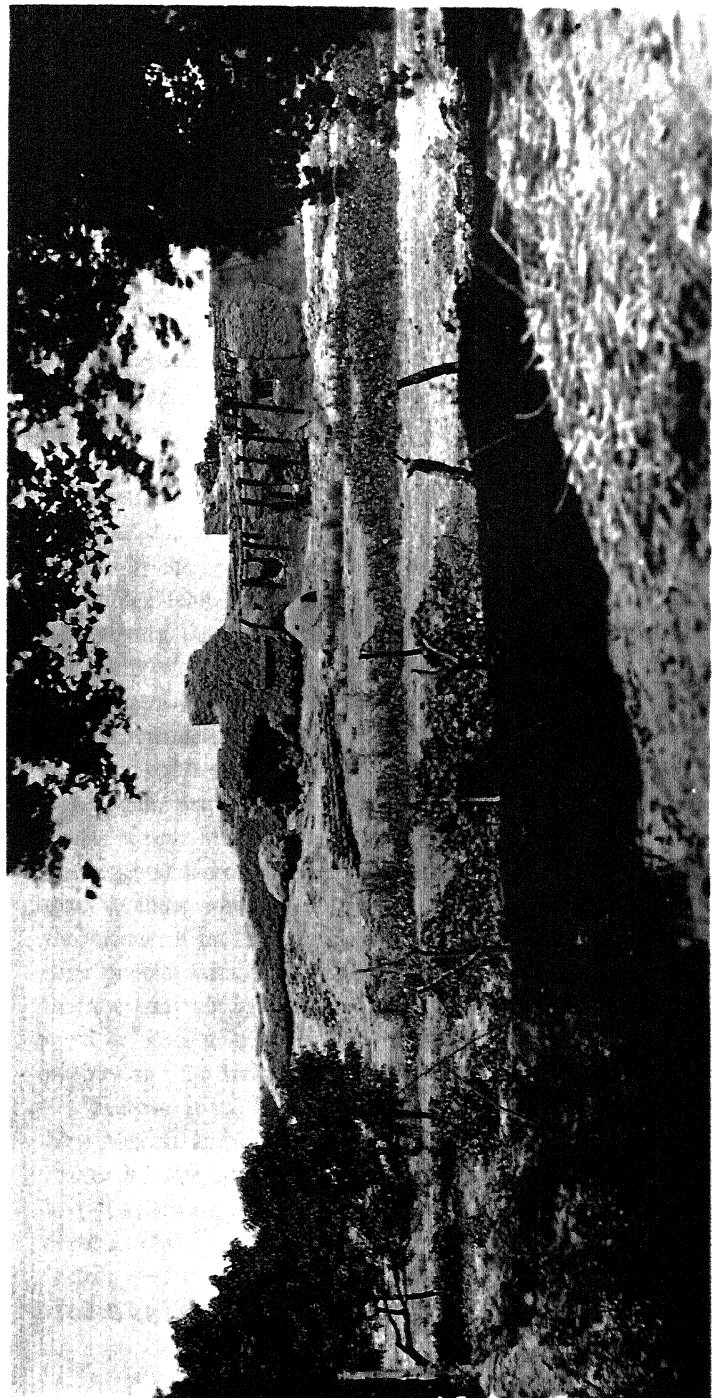
Through royal decrees it is ordered that no tributes² or personal services be imposed on the Indians of New Mexico until after they have been baptized. Before any can be levied against them, the governor of the province and the custodian must notify the viceroy and the royal audiencia of Mexico stating the reasons why they should be imposed, this to be done by the

* Fray Marcos was not a martyr.

1. This document is found in a group of Benavides and other papers relating to New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya in the Archivo General de Indias, *Guadalajara*, legajo 63. They were classified by Elizabeth Howard West under the years 1639, 1653, and 1658, but contain other years as well. Several, however, are undated, which makes it very difficult to place them exactly.

This particular document has no title and is neither signed nor dated, but appears to have been written by Benavides himself. Since it embodies his arguments for exempting the Indians of New Mexico from being granted in encomienda and from rendering personal service and tribute, an exemption which the king granted in a cedula of January 30, 1635, it was clearly written before this date, perhaps soon after Benavides reached Spain. See Appendix XVIII-E.

2. On the subject of tribute, to which a number of references are made in these documents, consult the index.



A GLIMPSE OF SANDIA IN 1901, SHOWING THE REMAINS OF ITS
ANCIENT CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO, LATER NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS
DOLORES. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis)

viceroys himself and the royal audiencia, and in no other way. At present everything is done in just the opposite manner; even before the pueblos are converted, the governor himself gives them out in encomienda without notifying the custodian or the viceroy. Even before they are converted and baptized, when they are only pacified, they [Spaniards] constrain them to pay tribute and to do personal service, taking them far from their pueblos and treating them badly. As a result, the heathen Indians who have not yet been converted or even pacified say that they do not want to become converted, or even pacified, that they do not want to become Christians, in order not to pay tribute or serve. They have even been sent to be sold as slaves in New Spain, as was the practice. They escape these and other abuses as long as they remain free and do not become Christians.

Wherefore your Majesty is entreated to order, under severe penalties, that the Indians of New Mexico be not given in encomienda by the governors of New Mexico until five years after the whole pueblo has been baptized, and in order to be given in encomienda, the said governor and the custodian there must notify the viceroy and the audiencia, reporting that the five years have passed, so that they may be authorized to do it; that the encomenderos of the said pueblos should have no other power or rights over the pueblos and Indians than the tribute owed them; that the Indians must remain always as tributary vassals of your Majesty, in whose name they pay the tribute to their encomenderos, without owing them any more obligations than to those who are not encomenderos; that neither the encomenderos nor any other Spaniards be allowed to live in their pueblos without the consent of the Indians themselves; that they may not have houses in the pueblos for their employment or other gain, by which they cause much harm to the pueblos and the Indians.

Likewise, it has been established by the first governors of New Mexico, and is being continued by order of the viceroy that each house pay a tribute consisting of a cotton blanket, the best of which are about a yard and a half square, and a fanega of corn. This is understood to be for each house and not for each Indian, even though many Indian families live in such houses. It often happens that the pueblos increase or decrease in houses,

or, if one tumbles down, its dwellers move to that of their relatives, and none of these pay tribute, except for the house in which they live. This works against the increase in houses, as tribute is collected as soon as the owners occupy them.

The encomenderos compel the Indians whose houses may have fallen down, or which they may have lost for other reasons, to pay tribute, even though they live in someone else's house. It is requested of your Majesty that the Indians of New Mexico do not pay tribute by the person, but by the house, as has always been done; that, as the encomendero is ready to receive the tribute of houses added to their pueblos, he should also be ready to lose and cease taking tribute from abandoned houses, even though the owners live in someone else's house.

It is requested that the Indians who, of their own will, move to live in other pueblos, being free, as they are, must not be hindered by their encomenderos, the governors, or other persons; that they may live freely in whatever pueblo they wish, and that, after they have established residence there for one year and a day, they become taxpayers at the place like the others of the same pueblo to the encomendero with whom they live. For the Indians suffer much harm when, if they do not get along with the encomendero in a pueblo where they do not find as good facilities for their work and farming as in some other one, they are forced to live there for the accommodation of the encomendero, whether they like it or not. If they have this freedom, the encomenderos will help and accord good treatment to their tributary Indians so that they will not leave their pueblos and their tributes diminish.

It is requested that all the caciques, chief captains, governors, *alcaldes*, and *fiscales* of the churches, on account of the big tasks they perform for the republic and the service of your Majesty, be exempt from tribute and personal service while they hold these offices. They are so busy in their offices that even their planted fields are cared for by others, as they are unable to do it themselves. The native lords and chieftains resent very much that they are compelled to pay tribute. Likewise, all the Indians who are choir singers and assistants in the churches are free only from personal service, but not from tribute, because of their regular attendance in church and in the schools.

It is requested that the Spanish governors be forbidden to issue warrants or permits to take Indian boys or girls from the pueblos on the pretext that they are orphans, and take them to serve permanently in the houses of the Spaniards where they remain as slaves. As a matter of fact, the orphans are well cared for at the homes of their grandparents or other relatives where they are brought up as if they were their own children. In case there should be any one without a home, the governor should not issue warrants without the consent of the ecclesiastical minister, who lives alone with the Indians and knows their needs and relieves them as much as he is able. This must be done so that the destitute Indian orphans may live freely with their relatives. The governors often take from the Spaniards some Indians who are serving the Spaniards well, in order to keep them for themselves. They take them without compensation, or, in payment, give them a permit to go to the pueblos to look for other boys and girls and to take them by force.

It is requested that the Indians taken in wars, whatever their nation, may not be given as slaves or sentenced to personal service outside of New Mexico, as is prescribed by royal decrees. On the contrary, they should be placed in convents of the friars or in houses of Spaniards or Indians of exemplary conduct so that they may be taught our holy Catholic faith with all kindness in order that they may become Christians. If any of them should run away they will tell the people of their nations of the good treatment accorded them and they will become inclined to our life and religion. This assignment to a convent may not be in the nature of a sale, transfer, or any other material consideration or period of time, but simply as an act of charity to instruct and convert them, which is the only purpose for which we have gone there. They must always be free in their lands, as they are often taken in wars and on other occasions, placed with an individual for many years who then transfers them to another individual for a consideration for the remainder of the time the assignment is to last. This is often done by the governors through a third party, and under this pretext they take many Indians, both men and women, to Mexico and other places to be sold.

It is requested that the Spanish governors be forbidden from

depriving any native Indian chief of his post or authority, because of the fact that the Indians greatly resent seeing their leaders and chieftains mistreated.

It is requested that the grants of lands which the governors may make to Spaniards both for grazing and farming shall conform to the royal ordinances; that to make grants the adjacent Indians and pueblos must be notified, and the proposal must be announced for a period of thirty days at the time of mass on holidays with the aid of the ecclesiastical minister so that these grants may not be to the detriment of the Indians and their lands be taken away from them. These grants are made secretly so that when the poor Indians want to return to their lands the Spaniards are already in possession of them, and from there they expand and add to their lands more than was given to them. They force the Indians, by evil treatment and by losses to their cattle, to abandon their lands and to leave their possessions to the Spaniards.

It is requested that the governors, since your Majesty gives them a salary of two thousand ducats a year for their support, shall obey the royal cédulas, by which they are ordered not to have farms or cattle ranches, even on the pretext that they are for the maintenance of their houses, as they are given a salary for that. This will prevent them from taking the best lands that the Indians have for their fields and from depriving the adjacent Spaniards of help to develop their lands. And in order to send their cattle to New Spain to sell, they rob the land of the cattle which are so desirable for increasing its welfare and permanence. In addition, in order to care for the cattle, they send along the best Indians of the land who then are left stranded because the distance is so great, and they find themselves unable to return to their country and homes. With their connivance others, too, send out cattle, and in particular female cattle, whereby the land is impoverished.

One of the main reasons for the unrest in that land of New Mexico is the desire of the governor that there be no other judge or tribunal than his; that the custodian, who is the one who administers ecclesiastical justice there, does not do or execute anything in the matters of the church without the intervention and authority of the governor. In particular, if any

one seeks the protection of the church for any reason, the governor says that it can only be done by his authority, the consultation of the ecclesiastical judge being unnecessary. Many serious disaffections ensue over upholding these and other prerogatives, the country being so far away, and the conversions are disturbed and even hindered. To bring this about the governors issue proclamations, telling the people not to obey the friars in anything, except that those who want to may hear mass, that the friars have no other powers, that the governor alone is the one who has authority as a judge there. In order to avoid all this, your Majesty is entreated to grant that primitive church, now that it is established according to its principles, that whoever takes refuge in a church or cemetery in New Mexico be fully respected and protected, even in cases where this is not granted to others. This will afford some protection and relief to the helpless Spaniards who live there as in a walled prison. If they are deprived of the protection of the church, they will have no means of defending themselves against the tyranny of many governors. And the Indians, when they see this, will conceive a greater respect and veneration for the church. Because of such absolute power of the governors there, many people desist from going to colonize at their own expense.

The privilege that your Majesty has granted this land provides that whoever has served there at his own expense for a period of five years be declared *hijodalgo* and be entitled to hold *encomiendas* in those pueblos. The governors often take away these *encomiendas* and give them to those who came with them, thereby keeping them for themselves during the time they remain there, thus depriving many Spaniards and their children who have served for many years of their due reward. May your Majesty be pleased to order that no one can be granted an *encomienda* or be in charge of one until he has served the said five years in that land as is prescribed, and also that in all cases the natives, sons of the founders and conquistadores, be preferred, in order that in this way many may be encouraged to go to settle in that land at their own expense, whereby your Majesty will be greatly benefited.

It is requested that whoever founds establishments of mines,

farms, or cattle ranches anywhere along the road from the valley of Santa Bárbara to the Rio del Norte be thereby favored and protected in their occupancy, and that they be exempt for twenty years from the payment of any royal fifth, tribute, *alcabala*, or any other assessment; that they be given, in the name of your Majesty, the mercury they need in the same manner as other miners.

It is requested that if anyone should wish to found at his own cost a town at the pass of the Rio del Norte, which is midway to New Mexico, royal authorities and powers should be sent to the viceroy of Mexico to agree with him as to the privileges that might be granted to him and that he might demand.³ That pass is extremely important, both for keeping open that trail and for the conversion of the many savage nations in that region. Your Majesty would be greatly benefited by the foundation of such a town and by the production of the mines and farms that may be established there. The same terms should be arranged for anyone who should like to settle at the bay of the Espíritu Santo river, which is situated across from Havana, on the coast that borders New Mexico on the east between Florida and Tampico.

It is provided and established in New Mexico that, because the trip is so long and difficult—it requires a whole year to make it—every three years, at the cost of your Majesty, there be brought from Mexico everything that is needed both for the founding of new churches at the conversions and for the vestments of the friars, their ministers.⁴ As this is handled by the royal officials, no matter how much we may ask for this aid, they do not give it every three years, but it reaches New Mexico at the end of six or seven years. Since this aid is furnished in limited quantity for three years only, the friars endure so much difficulty and privation that lately mass has been said only on holidays for lack of wine, which is furnished in three-year shipments, as it is sent either through bidding or through agents and is paid for from the accounts of your Majesty at excessive prices.

In this connection there are other strange details that cannot

3. See Hughes, Anne E., *The Beginning of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*.

4. See Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, v.

be put in writing. We take to New Mexico things of little value, and your Majesty pays for them as if they were the best in the world. This would not happen if the goods had been entrusted to the friars who are to receive them, and if they themselves were in charge of buying the goods. Thus your Majesty would save a good many ducats in these expenses, and those conversions would receive this help punctually every three years, and even every year in the following manner:

Let anyone examine the royal books in which are recorded the expenses of your Majesty in the last supply service and deduct respectively what a missionary friar in New Mexico costs your Majesty each year, including all the expenses from the time he leaves Mexico with the wagons which your Majesty maintains for this purpose. By giving this quantity in reales each year in Mexico and Zacatecas and having on the first trip the wagons fully equipped as usual, we would save your Majesty from four to six thousand pesos every three years, which you spend in the upkeep of the said wagons; from then on we will manage them and keep them up. In this manner we shall have our provisions every three years or oftener, and we ourselves will buy to our satisfaction the goods that are needed in those conversions. We will buy much cheaper, and with the same amount we would maintain the people in charge of the wagons. So, without your Majesty spending a single additional penny more than now, we would save the great cost of the upkeep of the wagons, and the conversions would be provisioned on time.

There is another way whereby we could be punctually provisioned and at much less cost to your Majesty. This would be by giving us the stipend or aid in the same manner that it is given to the Jesuit fathers in the conversions of Sinaloa, which are less than two hundred leagues from Mexico, and in a country at peace and with better climate. We are four hundred leagues away, in a severe climate, in a walled prison, in a country at war. Since greater work deserves greater reward, we receive the same amount that is given and spent on the said fathers, which is three hundred fifty pesos in reales each year for each minister. The first year they serve in the mission, they are given all that is necessary in the way of sacred vestments. Thus, computing all that is spent on a missionary friar in New Mexico per year and

what is spent for one in Sinaloa, the royal books will show that we spend much more in New Mexico because of the manner in which it is used. This means that we would save your Majesty more than one-fourth of the cost. On this matter it is not possible to write everything that would redound to the benefit of all.

I beseech the king, our lord, in the name of all New Mexico and in behalf of the friars, Spaniards, and natives, to please order that a cedula be issued stating that you consider yourself well served by everyone and instructing the governors to accord good treatment and maintain good relations with such loyal vassals in order that they may put a stop to the ill treatment they often inflict on their adjacent Spaniards and Indians, and the bad relations they maintain with the friars, whom all the Catholic kings have honored so much in royal cédulas. This would encourage everyone to go ahead and outdo himself in the service of the two Majesties.

B

PETITION APPROVED JANUARY 19, 1635⁵

Sir:

I, Fray Alonso de Benavides, procurator general for the conversions of New Mexico, state that the main and general answer given to us by those pagans for not becoming Christians is that when they do become Christians they are at once compelled to pay tribute and render personal service. For this reason alone they prefer to continue in the blindness which they enjoy in their idolatry rather than to become Christians, even when they acknowledge the infallible truth of the mild yoke of our holy evangelic law which we preach to them. By removing this obstacle, the Catholic aim of your Majesty will be attained by the conversion of countless souls.

Therefore, I entreat and beseech your Majesty that, with your unfailing zeal for the healing of souls inherited from your royal forefathers, you deign, by royal cedula, to command the viceroys, royal audiencias, and other royal agents in New Spain to protect all the nations of New Mexico, so that they may not in any way be compelled to render any personal service or pay any tribute until ten years after completion of the bap-

5. Archivo General de Indias, *Mexico*, 304 (old number 60-3-4).

tism of the converted nation, as has been ordered in many royal cédulas and as is observed in all the conversions in the Indies, exempting permanently from the said personal service and tribute all the caciques and principal people, together with their households, and likewise all the Indians engaged in divine service in the churches and convents, and all the ministers of justice engaged in the service of your Majesty and of their republic, this exemption to last only during the said exercises or the tenure of their offices and not otherwise. The encomiendas that may be granted contrary to the tenor of this royal cédula shall be made to comply with its dictate and justice and the encomenderos forced, in accordance with previous rulings, to pay for the personal service at the proper time; and they shall accord good treatment to these natives both in this service and in the collection of tribute, as faithful vassals who, with such a good and spontaneous will, have rendered obedience to your Majesty in order that, as their natural king and lord, you may protect them in peace and justice, and I shall be thus favored. FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES [Rubric].

[On the reverse:]

Sir:

In behalf of the Indians of New Mexico it is asked that their exemption from tribute and personal service be for ten years from the time the whole nation is converted.

[On the cover sheet of the document is found the following:]

FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, January 19, 1635. Let the cédulas already issued exempting from tribute the Indians who become converted be observed by the viceroy, and this shall be understood to include the Indians of New Mexico. [There is a rubric.]

XVII

ARRANGEMENTS FOR BENAVIDES AND HIS
COMPANION TO GO TO NEW MEXICO, 1634

A

FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, A CALCED FRANCISCAN. PLANS FOR
HIM AND A COMPANION TO GO TO NEW MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 28.
1634¹

For the transportation, sustenance, and clothing of these two Franciscan friars who are to go to New Mexico, in accordance with the order issued by his Majesty, there will be required 46,732 maravedis, without including their expenses from the time they leave their convents until they reach the city of Seville. This expense is to be reckoned at the rate of seven reales per day for each one, to be certified by the superiors of the convents whence they left, allowing them eight leagues per day. In addition, they are to receive two reales for each day that they remain at Seville while waiting to sail. Madrid, September 28, 1634.

B

LETTER OF BENAVIDES CONCERNING HIS MISSIONARY LABORS,
OCTOBER 22, 1634²

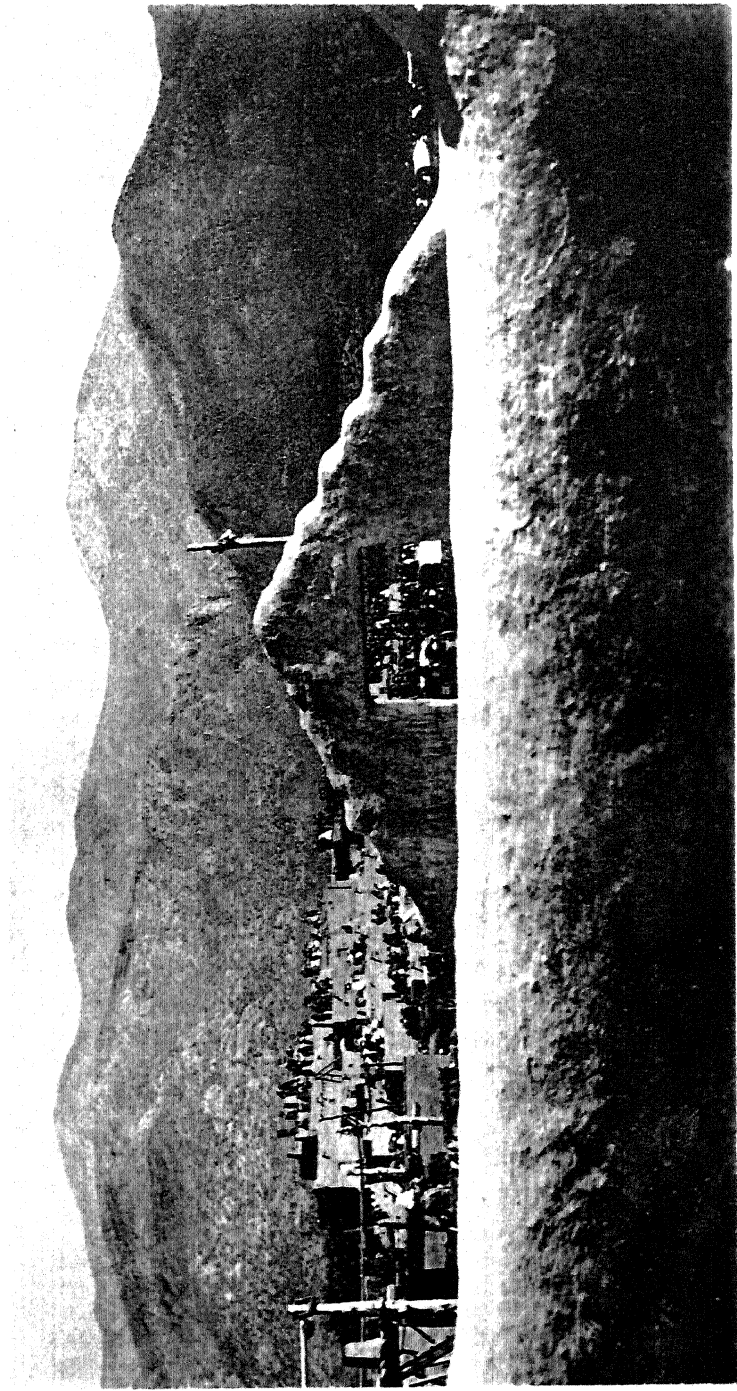
Most Eminent Lord:

The grace and favor that your Eminence has dispensed to this your humble servant and subject by honoring him with your letter will forever remain inscribed in his heart with sincere gratitude, particularly as it was addressed from the Holy Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, under whose obedience I again protest to remain all my life, since it deigns to consider itself well served by me.

Let the report that your Eminence asked me to send at the first opportunity speak for the ministers of the Catholic king. For his Majesty ordered a royal cedula issued to me, qualifying and testifying to all my services in the development of the conversions of New Mexico. Since this royal cedula of

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Mexico*, 2732 (old number, 97-3-24).

2. Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 135, fol. 255 (new). On folio 261 of the same volume, there is a summary, in Italian, of this letter.



TAOS ON A FEAST DAY IN 1889. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis)

his Majesty verifies my report as fully as one might desire, I will send your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation a copy, translated into Italian, qualified and attested by the Monsignor Nuncio, and also another report from the governor,³ who is now in office in the conversions of New Mexico, in which he notifies the viceroy of Mexico, in the year 1632, of the great hardships and dangers that the friars are enduring there in the service of our holy mother church, and also of the abundant fruits in innumerable souls they are gathering. Since a new report printed in the Indies itself has now arrived, which confirms a considerable portion of what I have related, I am enclosing herewith the original,⁴ to beg therewith your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation, with my knees and lips on the ground, kindly to favor those conversions in everything I have asked, as the secretary, Francisco Inguli, has received it in writing. Especially needed is the confirmation of the powers and privileges granted by Eugenio IV, León X, Adrian VI, and Pius V, of glorious memory. With their help the new and primitive church in the Indies was founded, and it is spreading continually with large increments, although at the cost and lives of so many friars. Lacking this power or curtailed in it, a power which they held from the very beginning, the evangelical ministers would be so handicapped that all would be uncertainty and difficulty. Their recourse to the Sacred Congregation being so far away, serious obstacles would result which the bishops can not see nor remedy, as they are not in the conversions, but only the friars themselves who live and die among the Indians. With mature judgment they determine in their definitorios what is most suitable for those conversions in which they find themselves alone.

If I could now bring this favor and grace from your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation to those apostolic men, they would be encouraged to greater undertakings.

3. Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto governed the province from 1629 to 1632, and Francisco de la Mora Ceballos from 1632 to 1635.

4. This reference is probably to the "*Relación Embiada por el padre Fr. Estevan de Perea, custodio de las Provincias del nuevo Mexico, al muy R. P. F. Francisco de Apodaca, Comissario General de toda la Nueva España, de la Orden de San Francisco, . . .*" a document printed in Mexico in 1631. It is a summary of Perea's two "*Relations*" from New Mexico, written in 1629. See Appendix xxv.

The Catholic king through his pious zeal has furnished me passage and everything needed to reach those conversions. He provided that I sail in this fleet which is to leave during the month of February. It will be a great comfort to me to convey the grace, blessing, and obedience of your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation, whose feet I kiss with all humility. Madrid, October 22, 1634. Your Eminence's humble vassal.
FR. ALONSO DE BENAVIDES.

C

CEDULA REGARDING THE PROPOSED RETURN OF BENAVIDES AND
A COMPANION TO NEW MEXICO, DECEMBER 4, 1634¹

FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, A CALCED FRANCISCAN, AND A
COMPANION

CEDULA

In order that the Casa de Contratación of Seville may furnish them with the necessary means to go to New Spain.

Enclosed is found the executive order issued by the treasury department. [There is a rubric.]

THE KING

My president and official judges at the Casa de Contratación of Seville:

Through another order of mine of this date I have granted authority to Fray Alonso de Benavides, of the order of Saint Francis, to return to New Spain and to take along with him his companion, Fray Antonio Ramallo de Benavides. Since it is my wish that they be furnished with what they need for the trip, I order that from any moneys or revenues there are or may be on hand, or that may be reserved for passage of friars, our treasurer will give him whatever he needs for the voyage and subsistence from that city (Seville) until he reaches Veracruz, according to the nature of the season of his departure. And to everyone of the said friars you will give a garment of the kind they ordinarily wear, and a mattress, blanket, and pillow for their use at sea. You will defray the cost of transporting their books and belongings from their convents to

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Contaduría* 245 A (2-2-245/2).

that city and of transferring it all from there to the city of San Lúcar or Cádiz, to which you may contribute and spend from my said revenues up to the amount of 46,732 maravedis, which, according to the calculation made by my accountants residing in my dominion of the Indies, is the sum the aforesaid will cost. This includes the ten ducats that I ordered to be given to each friar going to New Spain, without including the expense which the two friars will incur from the time they leave their home until they reach that city. This is to be calculated at the rate of seven reales for each friar per day at eight leagues of travel, which you will reckon through the certifications by the prelates of the convents from which each one left. The two reales are what you will furnish each one of the said friars every day for their sustenance from the time they arrive there until they embark. This total sum, together with a receipt of payment from the said Fray Alonso de Benavides, or the one empowered by him, and this my cedula, I order to be accepted and credited to you by my treasurer. You will give orders to the effect that the two friars be given appropriate accommodations in the boats in which they sail, seeing that they are furnished with a cabin. You will arrange with the skippers for the cost of the transportation of the said friars, together with their books and the belongings that they may bring. The agreement you may reach shall be entered on the back of a signed copy of this my cedula, by which I order my royal officials at Veracruz to pay the said skippers of the boats from any of my revenues the sum to which the said agreement may reach. For their discharge they are to take a copy of this my cedula, together with the agreement or receipt of payment from the said skippers or owners of the said boats. With these provisions, without any other order, they are to be credited in their account with whatever they thus pay out. Likewise I order them that from there to the city of Mexico they be furnished with what they need for their sustenance, including horses on which to travel and to carry their belongings. If at the said city and port of San Juan de Ulúa any of the said friars should become ill, they shall be cared for according to the order which has been issued to this effect. And, with a signed copy of this my cedula, the receipt of pay-

ment and statement of expenses, I order that the sum which this may amount to be accepted and credited. I order my officials at the island of Española that, during the time the said friars may stop at the port of Ocoa in the said island, they shall furnish them with what they may need there for their sustenance and refreshment in order to continue their voyage. For their discharge they will draw a receipt of payment and a copy of this my cedula, with which, and what they may have spent in the above services, without any further details, I order accepted and credited. All of you shall take care to avoid excesses in what is spent, exercise all moderation, and give a just account of it. Madrid, December 4, 1634. I THE KING. By order of the king, our lord. DON GABRIEL DE OCAÑA. [There is a rubric.]

XVIII

PROPOSED RETURN OF BENAVIDES AND
COMPANION TO NEW SPAIN, DECEMBER 4,
1634, TO JANUARY 30, 1635

A

RELEASE OF EIGHT DUCATS FOR FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, OF
THE ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS, WHO IS RETURNING TO NEW
SPAIN WITH A COMPANION, DECEMBER 4, 1634¹

Diego de Vergara Gaviria, his Majesty's treasurer:

Of the maravedis under your account in this Council, which are applied as passage money for missionaries or for court expenses, not having any funds, you shall pay from whatever funds you may have from the fines of the court or exchequer to Fray Alonso de Benavides of the order of Saint Francis, or to his representative, eight ducats (which amount to 3,000 maravedis) which we order given to him at one time as an aid in the expenses he must incur in going to Seville with Fray Antonio Ramallo de Benavides, his companion, who are going to New Spain. You are to do this, fulfilling thereby a cedula of his Majesty, dated February 11, 1614. Afterward, in this same manner and from the first money you may receive

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Indiferente General*, legajo 2873, Libro 2.

from court expenses, you are to restore the said eight ducats to the fines of the court and exchequer. You shall obtain a receipt of payment from the said Fray Alonso de Benavides, or from whomever may be acting for him, so that, with the receipt and this warrant, which his Majesty's accountants residing in this Council must accept, we order them to credit you with the said eight ducats and to enter them in their accounts. Dated at Madrid, December 4, 1634. Stamped by the Council. [There is a rubric.]

B

LET THE CASA DE CONTRATACION OF SEVILLE PERMIT FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES AND HIS COMPANION, OF THE ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS, TO RETURN TO NEW SPAIN, DECEMBER 4, 1634²

THE KING

My president and official judges of the Casa de Contratación of Seville:

I order you to permit Fray Alonso de Benavides and Fray Antonio Ramallo de Benavides, his companion, of the order of Saint Francis, to return to New Spain in spite of the fact that they have come from the said New Spain and in spite of what is provided against this, that is, that the friars who may have come from the Indies may not return thereto; I suspend the regulations in this instance insofar as this case is concerned. Dated at Madrid, December 4, 1634. I THE KING. By order of the king, our lord, DON GABRIEL DE OCAÑA Y ALARCÓN. Stamped by the Council. [There is a rubric.]

C

LETTER OF BENAVIDES TO THE KING RECOUNTING HIS SERVICES IN NEW MEXICO, HIS DESIRE TO RETURN, AND HIS FAILURE TO EMBARK, AUGUST 18, 1634³

Sir:

I, Fray Alonso de Benavides of the order of our father, Saint Francis, state that having been in New Spain for more than thirty years serving your Majesty, both preaching and ministering the holy sacraments to Spaniards and Indians, and

2. *Ibid.*

3. Archivo General de Indias, Mexico, legajo 304.

serving in the pacification and conversion of heathen Indians, particularly in the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico, with the zeal and success set forth in the printed and manuscript testimonials obtained through reliable reports, which state that in the year 1630, enduring great dangers and hardships from very long marches and voyages, I returned to appear before your Majesty, which service you found satisfactory. In 1632 you were pleased to order me to go to Italy, accompanying the ambassador, Don Francisco de Melo, as his confessor, where, having served up to the present to his satisfaction, of which he is giving notice, and having communicated and consulted with the father general of my order, they deemed it more suitable to the service of God, our Lord, and of your Majesty, that I return to my first vocation of converting souls, and preaching and ministering the holy sacraments in the Indies. And, having set out from Rome at once on this mission, I arrived at this court when the fleet had already sailed away, finding myself forced to wait until the next one.

I beg and beseech your Majesty to favor my desires, which consist only in ending my life in the way I have always employed it, serving God, our Lord, and your Majesty in those conversions and ministrations. I beseech you to issue a cedula to me, honoring and favoring in it both the friars and the Spanish soldiers in New Mexico, acknowledging yourself well served by them in everything that I, as their prelate and general solicitor, have brought to the attention of your Majesty; honoring likewise the nations of that kingdom by accepting with your unfailing and royal benevolence the obeisance which, with such due humility, they have rendered your Majesty. This you can do by ordering the viceroys and the royal audiencias to favor them all on every occasion that may redound to the service of God, our Lord, and your Majesty, as your faithful vassals who are so eager to serve you. By so doing the present services would be followed by greater ones, and many others would dedicate themselves to this noble undertaking of healing souls, which is my principal aim.

Likewise, I most humbly entreat your Majesty that you be pleased to command that I be given as alms transportation and sustenance for my companion and myself, as poor friars

of Saint Francis, who will reward your Majesty for the support you give his children in those conversions. Without this aid, because of the poverty of our profession, we could never go thither, where we serve as permanent chaplains and preachers for your Majesty. FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES.

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL

Let there be furnished to him and his companion the usual provisions, and let the letters he asks for be written, informing Señor Juan de Solórzano of them. August 18, 1634.⁴ [Rubric.]

D

THE KING TO THE VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN, DIRECTING HIM TO
AID BENAVIDES, HIS COMPANIONS AND SOLDIERS,
JANUARY 30, 1635⁵

To the viceroy of New Spain:

Let Fray Alonso de Benavides of the order of Saint Francis and the others of his order who have taken and are taking part in the conversion of the natives of New Mexico be aided and favored, and likewise the soldiers, who are serving in that kingdom, and the natives who may be reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, as is ordered herewith. January 30, 1635.

THE KING

Marquis of Cerralvo, my kinsman, viceroy, governor, and captain general of the provinces of New Spain and president of my royal audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be:

Fray Alonso de Benavides of the order of Saint Francis, in different memorials which he has given me, has made a report of how he worked in those provinces and in the new kingdom of Mexico [*sic*] for more than 30 years, preaching and administering the holy sacraments to Spaniards and Indians, and in the pacification and conversion of the heathen. He says that now the number of the pacified exceeds 500,000, and that the baptized number more than 86,000; that more than one hundred friars of his order are participating in their conver-

4. See Appendix XVIII-B and XIX.

5. Archivo General de Indias, *Indiferente General*, legajo 2873, Libro 2.

sion, and that in addition to the convents which this religious order has there are more than one hundred pueblos, and in each one of them there is a church where mass is said and the holy sacraments are administered; there is one very good Spanish town, in addition to other ranches and farms settled by them; and although he could continue the service of God, our Lord, and mine in these my kingdoms, as he did last year, 1632 [*sic*], going to Italy with Don Francisco de Melo as his confessor and to assist him in matters of my service entrusted to him, nevertheless, considering the fruit that will redound from his presence among those recently converted Indians and in the conversion of others, he wishes to return to the said New Mexico, and in order that he may do so, I ordered, on December 4 of last year, that he be given permission.

He has entreated me that I be pleased to order that the said conversions be favored and also their ministers and soldiers who are serving me in that kingdom. Having considered this in my royal Council of the Indies, I have approved it, and thus I order you to aid and favor Fray Alonso de Benavides and those of his order who are taking or who may take part in the conversion of the Indians of New Mexico. You are to assist them in the matters and affairs which may befall them in the said conversions, and to welcome the said Indians into my protection and aid, accepting the obedience which they may give me with grateful and benevolent demonstrations, thanking them for this action in my behalf, and promising them that they will find in me the aid and protection which I owe them and that I shall give them justice; and to the soldiers who are serving me in that kingdom you shall give them to understand how agreeable to me are the services which they are rendering me, and you shall honor them in my name according to the services that each one may have performed. If they should come before my royal person to ask for favor, you shall assure them that they will obtain it effectively. You shall consider one and all as heartily commended and favor them in everything that they may need. Do not allow on any occasion that they be molested or vexed in any way. Dated at Madrid, January 30, 1635. I THE KING.

By order of the king, our lord, DON GABRIEL DE ALARCÓN.
Stamped by the Council. [There is a rubric.]⁶

E

THE KING TO THE VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN CONCERNING PAYMENT
OF TRIBUTE BY CONVERTED INDIANS, JANUARY 30, 1635⁷

To the viceroy of New Spain:

Referring to the cédulas which have been issued in regard to the Indians who become converted and reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, that tribute be not imposed on them and that he fulfill and execute the cédulas as he is ordered, together with the other things mentioned here.

THE KING

Marquis of Cerralvo, my kinsman, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, or to the person or persons in charge of its government:

In another cédula of mine of this date I have entrusted to you the conversion of the Indians of the provinces of New Mexico, requesting that you favor and protect them in every way possible, and likewise the friars engaged in it and the Spaniards who are helping them. Inasmuch as I have now been informed by Fray Alonso de Benavides, of the order of Saint Francis, solicitor general for the said provinces, that the main cause why some of the said heathen Indians fail to become converted to our holy religion is because they have learned that others who had been converted had been burdened with the payment of excessive tributes and other personal services; that if they were relieved of this and protected they would join the flock of the holy Roman church and accept my obedience easily and gladly; that they would be urged to do it by their caciques and leaders if the latter knew that they too would be respected and granted the privileges

6. In a copy in the archives of Propaganda Fide, *Scrittura Antiche*, vol. 135, fol. 256, there is a note saying that it had been checked against the original in Madrid on February 3, 1635. On the reverse there is a certification by the public scribes attesting the accuracy of this cédula. This certification is signed at Madrid, Feb. 14, 1635.

An Italian translation may be found in fols. 248-249.

7. *Ibid.*

and exemptions customary in such cases; my wish and aim being, above all things, the conversion of the said natives, and that everything possible be done to bring this about gently and through evangelical means and ways, I have therefore ordered, through various cédulas, that the Indians who are converted and proffer obedience to me be not required to pay any tribute or be asked to give any other personal service for a period of ten years, and that the caciques and leaders, together with their families, and other Indians employed in the churches for the divine cult and who may be considered essential therefor, are to be relieved for life of the said tributes or services.

I command you to examine the said cédulas and to have them enforced and fulfilled in every respect everywhere in so far as they apply to the natives of New Mexico. Reassure them that tributes or services will not be exacted or asked of them during the ten years, which are to be reckoned from the time when their province or nation has been converted and pacified, including the caciques and leaders, together with their families and those engaged in the churches and who are considered indispensable. When the ten years have passed, if it is thought convenient that they pay tribute or render some service, this shall be only the indispensable amount, and it must be assessed and collected in the most gentle manner, and this only for their better education, preservation, government, and protection. You are to inform yourself whether in violation of the above orders any repartimientos have been made among newly converted Indians and their caciques. If so, you are to order their release and stop the practice, proceeding in all this in such a manner that the progress of the said conversion and reduction is always advanced.

You will see to it that the contents of this cédula are explained to the natives in such a manner that they are well informed and protected by it. If to this end the said Fray Alonso de Benavides should ask you for one or more copies of this cédula you are to give them to him, countersigned, so that they may be official. He may translate them into the languages of the said natives and distribute them as he sees fit. You are to favor him much in every way, since he deserves it for the

zeal he shows in the said conversion and the great work he has put into it.

Given in Madrid on January 30, 1635. I THE KING. By order of our king. DON GABRIEL DE ALARCÓN. Stamped by the Council. [There is a rubric.]*

XIX

CEDULA IN REGARD TO THE RETURN OF BENAVIDES AND A COMPANION TO NEW SPAIN, NOVEMBER 14, 1635¹

FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, CALCED FRANCISCAN, AND
A COMPANION

Cedula in fulfilment of the one issued by the Council of the Indies ordering that, at the Casa de Contratación of Seville, they be supplied with the necessary provisions for New Spain, where they are going.

THE KING

My president and official judges at the Casa de Contratación of the Indies, residing in the city of Seville.

Through my cedula signed by my hand and endorsed by my secretary, Don Gabriel Ocaña y Alarcón, dispatched by my Council of the Indies and dated December 4 of last year, 1634,² I ordered you that Fray Alonso de Benavides, of the order of Saint Francis, and Fray Antonio Ramallo de Benavides, his companion, who are returning to New Spain, be provided with everything necessary for the trip; and that from any of our moneys or revenues on hand, or that my treasurer may have set aside for the passage of friars to the Indies, you were to furnish the said friars with what they needed for their transportation and sustenance from that city until they reached Veracruz, in accordance with the character of the season at the time of their departure. To each one of the said friars you were to furnish

* There is a copy in *Propaganda Fide, Scritture Antiche*, vol. 135, fol. 257 (new). An Italian translation is contained in fols. 249-252. A reference to this cedula is found in fol. 260.

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Contaduría*, 245 A (2-2-245/2).

2. See Appendix XVIII-A and B.

a garment of the kind they usually wear, and a mattress, blanket, and pillow for the sea voyage. You were to defray the cost of transporting their books and belongings from their convents to that city, and also to transport the whole thing from there to the city of San Lúcar or Cádiz, spending from my revenues in this whole matter up to the sum of 46,732 maravedis, as has been more specifically detailed in my cedula previously referred to. It is my will that what is contained therein be carried out, and I command that you see, observe, and fulfill everything in it in every respect. My revenue officers and accountants of the Council of the Indies have taken note of that cedula and of this present one.

Given at Madrid, November 14, 1635, I THE KING. By order of the king, our lord, FRANCISCO DE LASPRILLA. Noted by those from the treasury department. [There is a rubric.]

XX

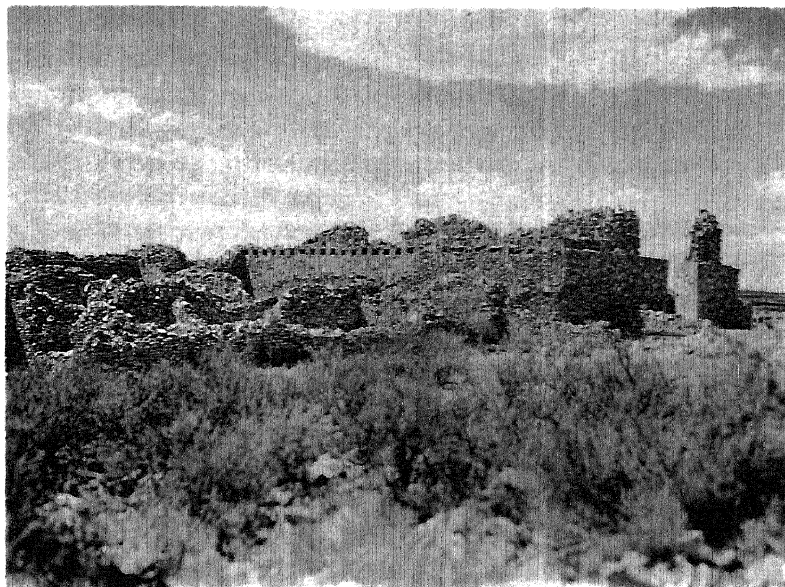
LETTERS OF BENAVIDES TO MONSIGNOR INGULI, 1635

A

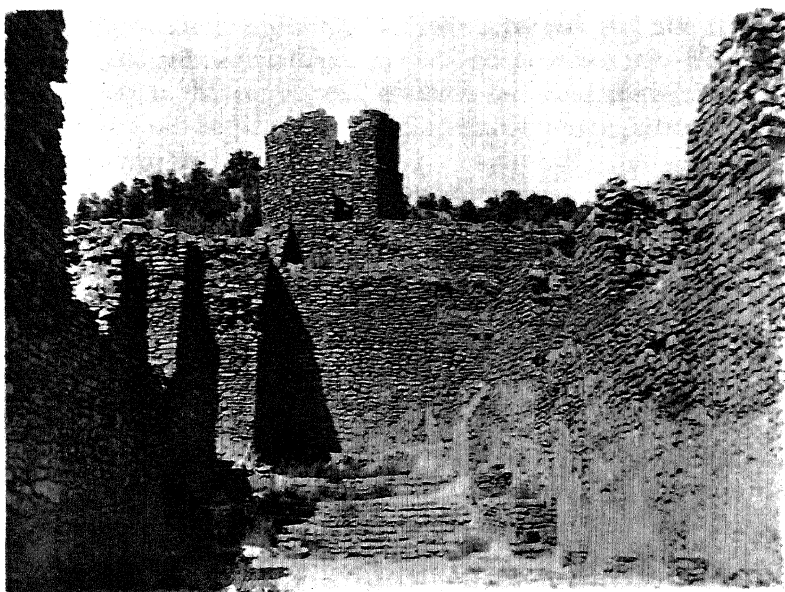
BENAVIDES TO INGULI, REGARDING HIS PREVIOUS REQUESTS,
MARCH 7, 1635¹

Although I am sending through his Eminence, the nuncio, the certifications that your Eminence asks of me, I want to send also in duplicate to your Eminence with the present letter the two cédulas which the Catholic king granted presently. These, together with a report which the right reverend commissary general for the Indies, the queen's confessor, is sending to his Eminence, the cardinal protector, will suffice, it seems to me, as qualification of my person and of what I have reported to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. However, the ones I am forwarding through his Eminence, the nuncio, are more complete. I beg your Eminence to add it all

1. Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 135, fol. 247 (new). On fol. 254 there is an entry in Italian giving a brief summary of this letter. Mention is made also in fol. 253 of the copying of this letter and the one of July 8, 1635 (Appendix XXI), from Father Benavides.



a. RUINS OF THE CHURCH AND CONVENT OF THE SO-CALLED PUEBLO OF
"GRAN QUIVIRA." (Photo. by the School of American Research)



b. INTERIOR OF THE RUINED JEMEZ CHURCH AT GIUSIWA.
(Photo. by Bertha P. Dutton)

to the above-mentioned report, which deals with all the provinces of the Indies, and the portents worked by the divine Majesty during the pontificate of our lord [his Holiness], and at its proper place an account is given of the conversions of New Mexico which verifies mine.

In order not to annoy your Eminence I will not detail the privileges and favors that I have solicited, since your Eminence has them in writing. At any rate the confirmation of the privileges of Adrian VI, Leo X, Pius V, and Eugenius IV is necessary, as is also the fact that the authority granted the prelates in the Indies and their chapters [*definitorios*] rests directly on the Sacred Congregation without being subjected to any lay or ecclesiastical tribunal. It is a fact that tying the hands of the friars who labor in those conversions, administering the holy sacraments in such distant and remote lands, would amount to depriving them of the power to spread our holy Catholic faith. Your Eminence is already aware of the distinction you would gain by fostering this cause. At the same time, your Eminence, do not neglect sending your jubilee for the glorious Saint John, the Evangelist, as we have arranged, and also the special and ordinary indulgences that were promised me. Your Eminence is the patron and protector of those conversions, where you will be eternally remembered, and thus in justice you should favor us.

May God grant your Eminence many years that you may employ them in the propagation of the faith.

Madrid, March 7, 1635. Your Eminence's unworthy servant,
FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES. [Rubric.] His Eminence, Francisco Inguli.

B

BENAVIDES TO INGULI, CONCERNING PRIVILEGES FOR THE INDIES,
MARCH [?], 1635²

May his Holiness, Pope Urban VIII, our lord, be pleased to confirm the bulls of Adrian VI, Leo X, and Pius V, of glorious memory, for the conversion of the Indies, naming as the immediate authority of his Holiness the prelates of the monastic

2. Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 259, fol. 153 (219 new). The document is not dated.

orders in order that they may invest those whom they place in charge of conversions and administrations with this authority, without depending on the bishops or any other tribunal; for if this authority were lacking, the propagation of the faith would cease. It is plainly seen that only the friars, particularly those of Saint Francis, are interested in converting souls, while the bishops and secular priests care only about missions that are already well established. They would take them away from the friars, many of whom gave their blood and lives for them. Moreover, it is well established that the ministration by the friars is more punctual and better.

When a bishop for New Mexico is named, it is desirable that he remain always in the city of Santa Fe, where the governor and the Spaniards reside permanently. Furthermore, it is very important that he be an humble friar, so that he may help and encourage the others who are engaged in the same ministry, and that he be chosen from the Franciscan order, as this order alone has undertaken those conversions, and up to the present no other order or secular priests have gone there. Ten friars have already suffered martyrdom in New Mexico. The ones who have worked there successfully and who are worthy persons are the following fathers: Fray Alonso de Benavides, Fray Roque de Figueredo, Fray Estevan de Perea, Fray Juan de Salas, and Fray Cristóbal de Quirós. They are preaching theologians, and all of them are now working in those conversions.

From the beginning of the conversions in the Indies to the present time they have enjoyed and do enjoy the unrestricted privileges granted by Adrian VI, Leo X, and Pius V. And it is important that it be so, for enormous damage would result to souls if the poor Indians and poor Spaniards had to appeal not only to Rome, which is so far away, but also to the bishops. In that case, rather than converting their needs into legal appeals and undergoing these expenses, they would continue to live with burdened consciences. When they have the remedy in the friar who ministers to them in those remote regions, they easily obtain relief from him through the frankness, affability, and sympathy with which he treats them, as has always been done. To change this method would cause so great misgivings to the friars themselves that rather than be subject to the bishops

and to the ministers of the crown they will abandon the conversions and ministrations, whereby the propagation of the faith would cease completely, since they are the only ones who occupy themselves with it. The Indians, too, as they have grown up in this method would soon rebel and return to their former idolatries rather than obey anyone else but the friars, as we experience every day. It would threaten the loss not only of the spiritual conquest but of the temporal as well.

I entreat the illustrious Monsignor Inguli to observe his promise to me of sending to the papal nuncio in Spain the bull of our lord (his Holiness), in which he confirms these privileges for the Indies, and not to deliver it to any one else, but to me, and I beg your Eminence that he do this before I sail for the Indies, which will be toward the end of June.

XXI

BENAVIDES TO MONSIGNOR INGULI, CONCERNING MISSIONARY WORK IN NEW MEXICO, JULY 8, 1635¹

IHS

Most Illustrious Monsignor Francisco Inguli:

I received your Eminence's letter of April 30 with the due appreciation of a dutiful son and servant of your Eminence. I presented the letter to his Eminence, the nuncio, and he told me that he was doing everything in his power to further the cause of the Indies through an order from the president of the Council of the Indies, and that he was not neglectful. I offered myself to your Eminence to promote this matter in everything that would be asked of me, as I realized my obligation to your Eminence, and you said that it would only be necessary to speak to the aforesaid president, and so I shall always be ready for your command.

His Eminence, the nuncio, has had in his power for a good many days other cédulas like the ones already in the possession of your Grace, and likewise many other royal testimonials,

1. Archivio di Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 105, fol. 54 (99 new).

attesting my mission. Your Grace has been wishing to send a good testimonial by your own hand, but as you have been so busy you have not been able to grant me this favor, although I have been asking it of you every day. The letter your Eminence wrote to me explains why you should hasten to do it, and thus I feel assured that this document is now forthcoming.

Father Fray Pedro de la Concepción is not in Madrid, but we are expecting him shortly. I shall communicate to him all that you tell me concerning Father Collado. As for the news from India, Japan, and China, I shall also keep you informed. Reports have come now of new conversions in New Spain, especially among the great Apalache² nation, where our padres have now converted nine pueblos to our holy Catholic faith, and two others at Cerro Gordo. When the other reports arrive I shall send them all together to your Eminence so that you may see how badly we need the confirmation of the bulls of Innocent IV, Leo X, Adrian VI, Pius V, and Gregory XIV in order to continue that apostolic work. So I entrust it to your Eminence for the great love you feel for the conversions, for the Lord will bountifully reward the favors you dispense to your ministers, and we will throughout our life pray the divine Majesty to preserve you.³

Madrid, July 8, 1635. The most humble servant of your Eminence, FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES. [Rubric.]

2. Franciscan missionaries labored among the warlike Apalache Indians of Florida in the first half of the 17th century.

3. On the reverse there is a brief summary in Italian, enumerating the main points of this letter. It is dated November 12, 1635.

XXII

SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENTS REGARD- ING FATHER BENAVIDES

A

SUMMARY OF THE RELATION OF NEW MEXICO GIVEN TO THE
SACRED CONGREGATION BY FATHER ALONSO BENAVIDES, MINORITE
OF THE OBSERVANCE¹

New Mexico and her other neighboring provinces are in North America, nearly on the same parallel as Italy. They are four hundred leagues distant from Old Mexico.

Three entries were made into this New Mexico before a foothold could be established, owing to the barbarous Indians. Finally, at the fourth attempt, which was in 1596 [1598], twelve friars of Saint Francis, with many soldiers under the command of Captain Juan de Oñate, and our Lord having performed several miracles, made conversions in 150 places, towns, and strongholds, and in time one hundred thousand souls were baptized. There were also founded thirty-three convents of the Franciscan order, which are the only ones found there at present.

Other entries were made afterward from New Mexico to various nations of the said America, traveling to the east and to the west more than 600 miles, until reaching the South sea, and coming within view of the great kingdom of Quivira.

In 1623, Father Alonso Benavides was elected custodian for New Mexico; to him were sent, at two different times, fifty-five friars, who, assigned to different provinces and favored by the Lord with great miracles, converted the whole Pira and Tompira nations, and, in 1628, all of the western part of the nation of the Apaches, which is so large that one cannot number them, and who are already subject to the king of Spain, and part of the nations of Xumanos and Japies, 350 miles toward the east, in which country occurred great miracles; and finally part of the nations of Zuñi and Moqui, 300 miles toward the west, so that

1. *Ristretto della Relatione del Nuovo Messico data alla sacra Conge. del Padre Alonso Benavides, min. oss^{ta}*. Archivio di Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 259, ff. 145-153 (217-218 in new numbering). Compare Appendix XIV.

the total number of converts would be fifty thousand, without counting the Apaches, which Father Benavides does not number, for the reasons said above.

In these entries the Catholic king has spent 570,000 escudos, and is still making expenditures in maintaining the missions, not wishing to delay the spreading of the gospel. Now they work mines, very rich in gold and silver, found in these lands. The latter yield more in cold regions, are more fertile in grain, and full of animals of various species like ours; and in particular there are deer so large that the Spaniards use them to draw carriages, which they introduced here.

Ten friars have been martyred in these missions, two with poison, the others with arrows, and their heads cut off with a stone tied to a wooden stick with the sinews of animals, which is their weapon.

In the year 1631, the Catholic king determined on the erection of a bishopric in these parts and decreed that a brother of Saint Francis should be nominated to be the prelate, since this was the first order to labor in these parts.

The said Father Benavides told how a lay brother of the Minorites, having seen that Captain Juan de Oñate, on the day of the conversion of Saint Paul, in a large bay in one of those said countries, with his sword in hand, went into the water to his waist and, striking the sea, said that he took possession of those countries for the king of Spain, and the friar, too, entered the water with a crucifix and said that he took possession of it for God, for the holy Catholic faith, and for the holy mother church of Rome.²

The same Father Benavides, in the name of those people who have cities with houses and palaces and government, received their due obedience to his Holiness, our lord, and asked his blessing for himself, his companion, and the people. Furthermore, the conversion of these people having commenced and been followed by great miracles on the day of the conversion of Saint Paul, who appeared visibly in the conquest of the peñol of Acoma, they elected the said apostle for their protector

2. Reference is here made to the head of the gulf of California. See Zárate Salmerón in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 278; Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*, pp. 164-169.

and begged that they be permitted to celebrate that day with a plenary indulgence or jubilee, and with the service for the whole octave, which they had already commenced. He asks, too, for the mission in the whole of North America, so that, with immediate apostolic authority, the work of converting innumerable people who are there may continue. Taking this into consideration, he requests that they may choose as prefect of the mission the present custodian or prelate of that province, in order to constrain him to accept the view of his definitors, with those faculties which were conceded for the Indies by past pontiffs, notably Innocent IV, Adrian VI, Leo X, Pius V.

Finally, he judges it necessary that a bishopric be established in those parts, on account of the difficulties of ordination, and of the sacred oils, and confirmation, not being able to travel from Old Mexico to New Mexico without great danger from the barbarous natives, as there are 400 leagues between Old and New Mexico. He further adds that one could establish a bishopric in the city called Santa Fe, where the governor resides with his Spaniards, and it seems to him that this dignity should be given to one of the fathers, Roque de Figueredo, Estevan de Perea, Juan de Salas, or Cristóbal de Quirós, who are theologians and preachers.

B

IMPORTANT NOTE OF FATHER BENAVIDES ³

Fearing that from Virginia and the islands of North America, through the navigation of the English and Dutch, heresy might be introduced into New Mexico, which borders on those places, as it was introduced there by the heretical English and Dutch, the said Father Benavides notes that it is necessary to establish a mission of Irish fathers who know the English language. Thus they may not only convert the heathen of those places to the Catholic faith, but also the heretics who have come from England and Holland and have increased in large numbers, taking Indians for wives, and together might convert the heathen already perverted, and hinder the propagation of heresy in New Mexico, and finally help the Spaniards who have

3. *Ricordo Importante del Padre Benavides*. Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 259, f. 218. This note is followed by the so-called *Verificazione*, xxii-c below.

been made slaves in wars with the said English and Dutch, and also the negroes, whom the Portuguese bring to New Spain and sell.

C

REGARDING THE TRUTH OF THE REPORTS OF FATHER BENAVIDES WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING PROOFS

- (1) In the patents of the commissary general of the Minorites of the Observance of New Spain and Mexico, named Fray Francisco Apodaca, the person of Father Benavides was approved, and he was appointed solicitor general of New and Old Mexico to report to our lord [the pope?] and to the king of Spain on the conversions made in the said New Mexico.
- (2) The same thing is done by Fray Francisco de Velasco with a compendium of all the conversions in detail.
- (3) The viceroy of Old Mexico, the Marqués de Cerralvo, named Don Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio, wrote a letter of credence for the said Fray Alonso to the king of Spain.
- (4) His secretary, D. Antonio de Vergara, sends to the father the chapter of the letter of credence which the said viceroy wrote to the Catholic king.

XXIII

CAMPEGGI [P] INFORMS BARBERINI OF
BENAVIDES' DEPARTURE FOR GOA AS
AUXILIARY BISHOP, FEBRUARY 11, 1636¹

His Eminence and Excellence, my Lord:

Father Benavides, with whom I have often discussed matters pertaining to the church in the Indies, and who had induced me to defer bringing it up until seeing if, on the occasion of the present fleet, he might not find out what difficulties hindered the issuing of the royal decrees; without telling me a word, he left for Lisbon in order to sail from there for Goa as auxiliary bishop of the church there.

I am awaiting news of him and also of the results of a petition made on the matter here by the friars, in order then to add my assistance in whatever manner may seem best.

I have entrusted Signor Fabricio Sorboli with the order to seek from the Congregation the voting of the 12,000 reales of eight, and the two cardinal's rings. In the first of these matters, the diligences are progressing and have reached a satisfactory end. In the other matter, and in what refers to Cardinal Zapata, I hope the money will soon be obtained, if I am to judge from what the monsignor archbishop of Burgos writes me. He says to notify his Eminence, the cardinal, when it has been approved.

In what refers to Cardinal de Lerma, there are some difficulties, which will become greater if the death of the Duke of Lerma should prove true. In such a case his estate will become involved in greater litigation.

So I bow and humbly kiss his Eminence's habit. Your most humble, CAMPEGGI [P]. Madrid, February 11, 1636, to his Eminence, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

1. Propaganda Fide, *Scritture Antiche*, vol. 135, fol. 216 (new).

XXIV

ROSA FIGUEROA'S REPORT OF HIS REVER-
ENCE, FATHER BENAVIDES, 1603-1640¹

646.—VENERABLE FRAY ALONSO BENAVIDES, ISLANDER,
PROFESSED, AUGUST 12, 1603

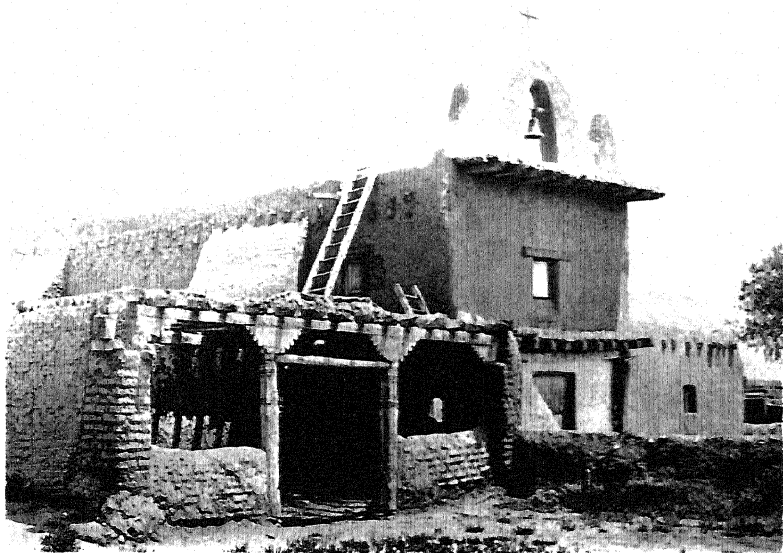
He was such a spiritual man and so zealous in the observance of the rule that the province appointed him master of novices of the convent of Puebla. He became guardian of Temamatla² in consideration of his apostolic zeal. Because of his fine religious spirit (as may be seen in the decree of the definitorio in book I, pl. 9, of the decrees) he was elected as the second custodian for New Mexico. He was elected canonically and unanimously by the full definitorio on October 19, 1623, and he held the post for four years, until 1627, inclusively, as in the following year, 1628, he came to the provinces to present a report to the viceroy and the prelates concerning unusual and startling things that happened in the progress of the conversions in that custodia and nations of the north where the *Menologio Magno* of our Tubero [Hueber] proclaims this venerable father, Fray Alonso Benavides, as a great apostle, as I will tell presently.

I find it necessary to present here some uncommon reflections and information concerning the custodia of New Mexico, so that this information may here remain unchallenged and true, thus supplementing and increasing that which our chroniclers lacked, since our Father Torquemada did not write them because he completed his *Monarchía Indiana* in the year 1612,³ eight years before the years 1620 to 1631 when such marvels had been experienced. I do this also to clarify the many errors and mistakes contained in what has been narrated by Father Vetancurt in the chapters in which he discusses the custodia

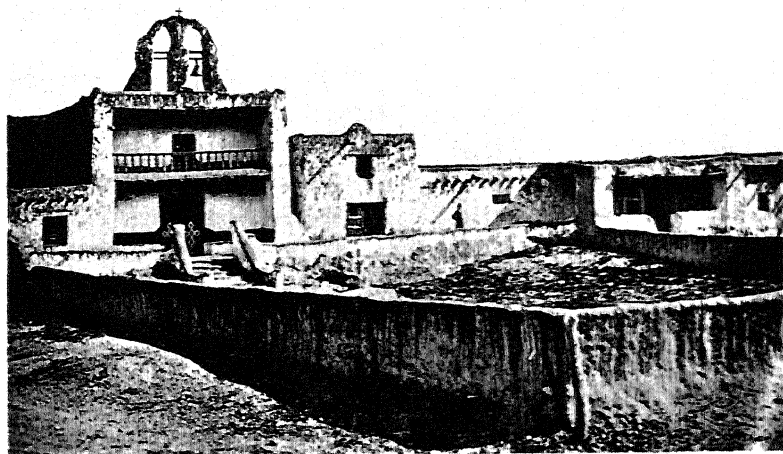
1. Rosa Figueroa, Francisco Antonio de la, *Becerro general menológico y cronológico de todos los religiosos que . . . ha auido en esta Sta. Provincia . . . desde su fundación hasta el presente año de 1764 y de todos los preladados . . . que la han governado*. MS., pp. 251-255.

2. Given as Temamattlac in Appendix III.

3. Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Los Veynte i Un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Yndiana*, Seville, 1615.



a. THE OLD CHURCH AT SAN ILDEFONSO PUEBLO.
(Photo. by C. F. Lummis, 1890)



b. THE CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO. (Photo. by C. F. Lummis)

of New Mexico, tratado no. 3 of the 4th part of his *Theatro*.⁴ Starting on page 94, no. 23, he says that the reverend father, Fray Estevan Perea,⁵ custodian of New Mexico, took thirty friars in the year 1628; but he does not tell that this was the third canonical election of a custodian to succeed the venerable Father Benavides on September 25, 1627, because he did not see the book of decrees of the province, fol. 21.⁶ Neither does he tell the reason why such a numerous mission of friars was being sent to the holy province in addition to those who were already there. The reason was the venerable Benavides' insistent request of the prelates for a large mission to supply the numerous thousands from the nations of the north who came to ask for baptism while the venerable father was custodian. They asked with fervent insistence for missionary fathers, starting as early as 1620, when they had the amazing experience of seeing the prodigious and venerable Mother María de Jesús de Agreda appear to them really and visibly as an apostolic and catechizing preacher in those vast kingdoms. Vetancurt did not have information of these portents which recurred oftener in the custodiate of the said venerable father. The latter had not yet heard of the venerable mother, or even that such a nun existed.

On account of the description furnished by the nations already converted, Benavides decided to come to report verbally to the prelates and to the viceroy, hoping to sail for Europe to report to King Philip IV, his royal council and the reverend superior prelates, if he obtained permission. In the year 1628, his successor having arrived with the thirty friars, he undertook the trip to Mexico where the viceroy and the prelates agreed that he should go to Madrid to report to the king and our reverences about the portents that God was bringing to pass in New Mexico. It makes one reflect that while he came to Mexico in the middle of 1628 or a little later, his arrival at the court of Madrid was delayed until August 1, 1630.⁷ I

4. Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, Mexico, 1698. Reprinted, Mexico, 1870-71.

5. See Appendix VIII.

6. Consult Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*.

7. Benavides departed from New Mexico with the supply train in the fall of 1629 and was in Mexico at least as early as March 19, 1630. See the Biography, *infra*.

believe that the cause of his delay in Mexico during the whole year of 1629 was due to no other reason than the controversy with the viceroy which arose in 1629 in this province as well as in the others of this kingdom. And, it being necessary to send a report to the king and his royal council, the province must have detained the venerable father in order that he might carry the report.

I shall not extend myself telling what marvels the venerable father told upon his arrival in Madrid or the means which divine providence furnished him in order that he should seek the venerable mother, María de Jesús, in the convent at the town of Agreda, communicate with her, and learn from that prodigious spouse of Christ. I refer the reader to the first part of the *Mística ciudad de Dios*,⁸ in the narrative of the life of the venerable virgin, paragraph no. 12, entitled "Marvelous Conversions of the Heathens," where are told all the marvelous details of what happened in her miraculous appearances and preachings here in the north in this boundless kingdom of the Indies. I refer also to the *Tanto*, printed in Mexico,⁹ and to the letter written by the said venerable father in the year 1631 in Madrid after he spoke with the venerable mother.¹⁰ He wrote it to the fathers of the custodia. Two copies of the said *Tanto* I have incorporated and included in document no. 1 of legajo no. 1 of *Martyrs of New Mexico*, kept in the archive of this province in box 70. I have done so because Father Vetancurt in the catalog of bishops of the order, sons of this holy province, on page 135, no. 4, of his *Menologio*, gives confusing information so that it is not possible to tell from where the venerable Father Benavides was promoted to the archbishopric of Goa,¹¹ for he says "on his return," but does not say from whence. This appears to be very clear, although Father Vetancurt did not investigate it, first, because in the last passage of the said paragraph 12 of the narrative of the life of the venerable mother of Agreda it is plain that the venerable father returned from Madrid to this kingdom and

8. See paragraph I. of the Memorial and note 136.

9. See Appendix XI-A.

10. See Appendix XI-C.

11. We have seen that Benavides was appointed auxiliary bishop, not archbishop. See Appendix XXIII.

went on to New Mexico.¹² This must have been at the beginning of 1632. He assembled the friars and told them how he had met the nun, servant of God, who in those remote kingdoms had worked the miracles of which they were witnesses. He told them also what his experience had been with her. He gave them her letter, and with this and the account he gave them, those evangelic men were filled with fervent inspiration. The venerable father assembled in his own writing a narrative of the whole thing, including in it the original inspiring letter from the venerable mother, and put it all in the archive of the custodia in order that in the future it would serve as a memory and testimony of divine grace in the conversion of those people.

The second point is seen clearly in the book of decrees of the province, namely, that the venerable father was doubtless called by his prelates in the following year and was sent again to Madrid in view of the great favor his person had found before the king and his council. He was sent so that he might attend to the pressing business that the province had brought before his Majesty and our reverences, particularly during the provincialate of our father, Fray Francisco Velasco,¹³ whose wanderings and openings in the provinces, which lasted several years, may be found in the said book of decrees commencing in the year 1629.

During this time, in 1631, when the venerable Father Benavides was in Madrid and had gone to Agreda, the provinces sent the reverend father, Fray Diego Ibáñez, to that capital. I may conclude from this without any hesitation that the province delegated Father Benavides in 1633 or 1634, instead of Father Fray Ibáñez, who was charged with the postulation concerning the beatification of the venerable Father Aparicio. From the

12. Benavides did not return from Spain to New Mexico, as shown by the several appendices herein.

13. Fray Francisco de Velasco joined the colony of his cousin, Don Juan de Oñate, at San Gabriel de los Españoles in December, 1600, and accompanied him on his expedition to the plains in 1601. This friar was seemingly the Velasco who was lector jubilado and provincial of the province of the Holy Evangel of Mexico at best between August, 1629, and July, 1634. According to Vetancurt, Velasco the father provincial was born in Tecamachalco; the same authority, *Crónica*, p. 323, incorrectly gives the name Francisco to Fernando de Velasco who was murdered at Pecos in the revolt of 1680, but the name is correctly given in his *Menologio*.

year 1635 this province subsidized Father Benavides at Madrid with 100 pesos for his support, as is stated in the said book, fol. 57. Since he is no longer mentioned after this date, it seems likely that in the year 1636 or 1637, King Philip IV asked his appointment as auxiliary bishop to the archbishop of Goa, perhaps because he was in poor health; and so he was consecrated and went to Goa where the archbishop had died and he succeeded to the archbishopric. Thus if any critic should reflect how this venerable father, being a Spaniard, was recommended to the holy pontiff as auxiliary bishop of Goa in a diocese belonging to the crown of Portugal, he must remember that Portugal and its territories and bishoprics belonged to the Spanish crown until the year 1640, inclusive, when Portugal revolted against Philip IV and crowned the Duke of Verganza [Braganza] as her king.¹⁴

And to enhance the glory of the venerable mother, María de Jesús de Agreda, miraculous apostle of New Mexico and its vast kingdoms of the north, as well as of this illustrious venerable father, and therefore of this holy province of the Holy Gospel, I shall translate literally what relates to this great apostle of New Mexico, for so he is called in the *Menologio Magno* by our Father Fortunato Hueber,¹⁵ which he chronicled in his volume for July 20, commencing in column 1429, and extending to no. 8. This information will not be found in any chronicle of this province or of the others in the kingdom. I shall begin as follows:

In New Mexico the great apostle, Alonso Benavides, began to see the benefits in the land of the living. With the favor of Jesus Christ, our Lord, he brought the Catholic faith to the inaccessible lands and to numerous people whom he thus brought out from the darkness of paganism and the somberness of death. Therefore, in the year 1626, he enlightened in the sacred font of baptism the nations of the Poros, Piros, Senecues, Socoros, Sevilectos, and others.¹⁶ In this manner he built convents with churches in their midst. Likewise he

14. See the Biography of Benavides herein and note 51 thereunder.

15. Fortunatus Hueber, O. F. M. *Menologium seu brevis, et compendiosa* . . . 1698.

16. From other accounts, these tribes may be identified as Tompiro, Piro, and the Piro of Senecú, Socorro, and Sevilleta.

assembled or distributed in *galerones*, these are the buildings we call *xacales*,¹⁷ the numerous nations of the Queres, Tompiros, Tanos, Peccos, Tevas, Hemes, Taos, Acomas, Moquis, and Apache Vaqueros, and instructed them in the Christian faith. He relieved them of their witchcraft and superstitions, destroying their idols and banishing the inventions of the devils. He filled the nations of that country with miracles. He instructed its inhabitants so piously in the Catholic faith and he confirmed them so solidly in it through his Franciscans that no better Catholics could be found anywhere in Europe after centuries of Christianity.

The metropolis of New Mexico is called Santa Fe, and there was at that time no church in the town; because of this situation the divine services were held in a *galerrón*, which here means *horreum*, which must have been some *xacalón* used as a granary.¹⁸ Father Benavides, in view of such indignity, ordered, about 1627, the building of churches and schools in the region where its ruler or head chieftain, named Quinía, held the most prominent post among the Indians because of his heroic deeds in war.¹⁹ He was the first to raise the emblem of the cross because he and his wife and children had been baptized by the venerable Fray Alonso, who left with them some friars to instruct them and to bring about their spiritual salvation. Later an Apache from the Xila [Gila], chief-captain Saraba [Sanaba], hearing Fray Alphonso explain at Senecú the word of God, turned to the faith of Christ and spread His glory so fervently that his subject pueblos are to this day compelled by the territorial authorities to attend the Christian instruction. When this prince later had occasion to visit Father Alphonso, he offered him a folded deerskin—it must have been a *cíbola* [bison] skin—very elaborately worked, which means marvelously tanned. The father, believing that it was some gift, which means *xenium*, refused it humbly and politely.

17. That is, wattled structures daubed with mud; but why the Indians who lived in comfortable, permanent buildings should have been housed in such huts is not easily explained. Possibly Rosa Figueroa or his informant meant to say that the first churches erected in the settlements of these people were of a temporary character.

18. Doubtless it was this *xacalón* that was replaced by the church built by Benavides—the Parroquia. See note 86.

19. See note 111.

However, on unfolding it at the request of Saraba, he saw painted on it a sun in a green color and a moon in gray, and above them both a cross. When the father asked him what the painting meant, the Indian replied:

[“Father, until now we have not known other benefactors greater than the sun and the moon. They light and warm us, and make our plants produce and the flowers germinate. Thus because of so many benefits we have worshipped them as the arbiters of our lives. But since we heard you tell us who God is who created the sun and the moon, in order that you may know that we now worship only God, I had these crosses, which are the emblem of God, painted above the sun and the moon. Following your teachings we now adore and venerate the crosses.”²⁰

Thus the Franciscans in 1629 went among the innumerable and most warlike Apaches of Navia,²¹ who are located at fifty degrees latitude and spread very widely, and among the Apaches Vaqueros to spread the faith of Christ and to plant crosses among them. They erected convents, churches, and schools, and displayed great zeal in the propagation and teaching of the Christian doctrine.]²²

From this it is clearly shown that the Lord did not permit all this copious harvest to be gathered from the year 1580—when the venerable martyred lay-brother, Fray Agustín Rodríguez, discovered New Mexico, giving his life for Christ, as did also the venerable fathers, Fray Francisco López and Fray Juan de Santa María, in the year 1581, and other martyred friars of this holy province who died at the hands of the savages in those previous forty years—and up to that of 1620. In this year, according to the revelations of divine providence, the harvest began to be gathered through the miraculous and apostolic preachings of the venerable nun, servant of the Almighty, Sister María de Jesús de Agreda, in order that in the custodiate of the venerable father, Fray Alonso de Benavides, and through the efforts of his apostolic zeal, there should begin to be gathered the fruits mentioned in the *Menologio Magno*, which is

20. Compare the text of the Memorial, paragraph XLV. See also note 118.

21. Apaches de Quinfa.

22. The portion in brackets is in Latin in the original text.

still lacking in information because the chronicler must not have had it available. So the venerable Father Benavides left New Mexico for Mexico in 1628 [1629]. In 1631, when he was at the town of Agreda in conversation with the venerable mother, 86,000 Indians in New Mexico had already been baptized. The converted and those instructed in the catechism totaled 500,000. There were 150 towns, each with its church where mass was said, for although the headships of the nations were few in number, several *visitas* were attached to each headship. New Mexico came to have as many as sixty missionaries. Let anyone read Juan Díaz de la Calle's *Memorial y noticias sacras y reales del imperio de las Indias*,²³ section 6, under the heading "Discovery of New Mexico," or read the printed manifesto sent to the king, our lord, by our reverend father, Fray Fernando Alonso Gonzales,²⁴ concerning the proceedings that Señor Crespo, bishop of Durango, had formulated against the custodia, in section 1, *per totum*. From this said manifesto one will learn and reflect how much there was left unchronicled by Father Vetancurt, and one will infer that in the general uprising of 1680, which was the first that took place after 60 years of marvelous progress in the custodia, 500,000 Indians, not counting boys and girls, broke away from the catechism, and up to 70,000 baptized Indians became apostates. This manifesto will be found in the archives of this province in the aforesaid box 70 with the title *Nueva Mexico*, legajo 1, no. 40. However, what is narrated there, citing Father Vetancurt, is erroneous when compared with these notes, which are reliable.

All of the custodians named by the said Father Vetancurt, commencing on page 95, no. 21, to no. 22, inclusive, were only appointed by the prelates through letters patent. Not one of them was elected through a canonical election, except the reverend father, Fray Estevan Perea, as I shall show in the following catalog of the first nine custodians. I shall do that in order to record the day, month, and year of their election

23. This important work, printed in 1646, is fully discussed by Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, I, pp. 250-254.

24. "Representación y Manifiesto que N. M. R. P. com.º gral. Fr. Fern.º Alonso Gonzales hizo al Rey . . . Año de 1732." Biblioteca Nacional de México, legajo 7 document 55.

and to show that our reverend father, Fray Tomás Manso,²⁵ never was a custodian of New Mexico but a solicitor when he finished his studies in 1629, for although a professed priest for 27 years they would not have made him a custodian in 1624 within five years of his becoming a priest, but because of his careful administration they made him solicitor of the custodia, which post he held for eleven years, so well accepted and beloved by those nations of the pass of the Rio del Norte that they adopted his name, and to this day call themselves the nations of Mansos. It is true that on May 27, 1639, when he had been solicitor for ten years, he was canonically elected as custodian when he was in this convent. However, he did not accept the position and soon renounced it. In his place they appointed the venerable father, Fray Antonio Arteaga, discalced friar, who through his apostolic zeal had come to the custodia from the province of San Diego. He was elected by a unanimous vote.

In the year 1641, the said Father Fray Tomás Manso went to the court at Madrid as one of the chief solicitors to handle the affairs of the missions of Puebla, which were discontinued in the year 1640. In the year 1648, when he was already back, he was elected definitor; and in 1655, he was elected our provincial. Within a year he received the appointment as bishop of Yucatan [Nicaragua], where he soon went, consecrated in 1656. In this year, arriving at his bishopric, he sent, in the month of November, a report to the viceroy, which he had asked for in his order about the number of friars needed in New Mexico, and which amounted to sixty-six. This number was asked by the province from the superior authorities, as may be seen from the petitions and decrees which on this matter are found in box 70 of the archives under the title "New Mexico," legajo 1, paper 1.

All of these I have recorded in order that one may see how evangelical progress flourished in that year in the custodia and that it did not diminish until 1680, the time of the general rebellion and apostasy of the nations. And so in order that one may see how erroneously Father Vetancurt wrote concerning these matters in chapter 6, page 99, of his *Teatro Mexicano*,

25. See note 53.

and in chapter 3, dealing with the succession of custodians, in no. 21, page 96, where he lists our Father Manso as custodian in the year 1629; in order to prove that this is false, I assemble the following catalog of the succession of custodians up to the year 1639, when our Father Manso left the custodia. This was all drawn from book 1 of the decrees of the province to which I refer.²⁶

Father Fray Miguel de Chavarría [Echavarría] mentioned in no. 630, was the first custodian, elected in October, 1620, through a canonical election by the definitors.

Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, who was the second custodian, was elected August [October] 19, 1623.—Decrees, folio 9.

Father Fray Estevan Perea, third custodian, was elected on September 25, 1627.—Decrees, folio 21.

Father Fray Francisco de Porras, fourth custodian, was elected on October 18, 1629, and in case of his death they elected as substitute Father Fray Juan de Salas.—Decrees, folio 34, reverse side.

Father Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, fifth custodian, was elected on March 3, 1633, and in his absence Father Fray Gerónimo Segovia.—Decrees, folios 45-46.

Father Fray Juan de Salas, sixth custodian, was elected on May 30, 1636.—Decrees, folio 65.

Father Fray Tomás Manso, who was in Mexico, was elected seventh custodian on May 27, 1639, but he did not accept, and because he declined the office, Father Fray Antonio Arteaga was elected; he was a discalced friar, who was in New Mexico, the eighth custodian, elected by unanimous vote. He resigned within a year and returned to San Diego.—Decrees, folio 94.

Father Fray Hernando Cobarrubias was elected ninth custodian on October 2, 1640, due to the resignation of Father Fray Antonio Arteaga.

26. For a full discussion of the custodians in New Mexico, see Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, *passim*.

XXV

TRUE REPORT OF THE GREAT CONVERSION

WHICH HAS BEEN EFFECTED IN NEW MEXICO. SENT BY FATHER FRAY ESTEVAN DE PEREA, CUSTODIAN OF THE PROVINCES OF NEW MEXICO, TO THE VERY REVEREND FATHER, FRAY FRANCISCO DE APODACA, COMMISSARY GENERAL OF ALL NEW SPAIN, OF THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS, GIVING HIM AN ACCOUNT OF THOSE CONVERSIONS AND TREATING PARTICULARLY OF THE EXPEDITION SENT TO THOSE PARTS¹

By permission of the vicar-general, and of the alcalde, Don Alonso de Bolaños.

Printed in Seville, by Luis Estupiñán, in the Street of the Palms. Year, 1632.

On September 4, 1628, there departed from this city of Mexico, twelve soldiers, nineteen priests, and two lay brothers, all friars of Saint Francis, accompanying the custodian, Father Fray Estevan de Perea. They were sent by the most pious province of the Holy Gospel, with the alms and at the expense of his Majesty, whose Catholic heart transforms the scepter into the caduceus of Mercury, a true shepherd's staff studded with eyes—and also a rod of peace and justice—to watch over the preservation of these conversions, in the defense of which he spends the greater part of his royal revenues.

The above-mentioned friars were accompanied by nine others sent at the expense of the said province; all of them were filled with gallant courage and a spirit ready for every kind of suffering and danger, insults and affronts, prompted by their aim of preaching in the name of Jesus Christ. With joy and resignation, they traveled as far as the valley of San Bartolomé, without anything particular happening to them. Here the people were refreshed with some comforts to make up for the wants they had endured on the road. It was no small concern,

1. An English translation of this Relation was published by Chas. F. Lummis in *Land of Sunshine* for November and December, 1901; Professor Lansing B. Bloom republished it, slightly revised, in *New Mexico Historical Review*, VIII (1933), pp. 211-235.

on this occasion, when thirty mules ran away after the herds of wild mares, and, for all their careful searching, fifteen of them could not be found again. As this was the last settlement and as it was necessary to make provision here for the one hundred and fifty leagues of wilderness which intervene before the first pueblo of New Mexico is reached, they obtained the necessary supplies, and also four ox carts, to lighten the loads of the thirty-two provided by his Majesty, which were too heavily laden. Nor did anything new happen on this stretch of road, as far as the big Rio del Norte, the source of which is at the North Pole. They explored the country on April 7, 1629, the evening before Palm Sunday. They were well received by the natives and provided with refreshments of fish and other local food; and they gave them meat and corn in exchange. They allowed their beasts to rest here for three days, having arrived very worn; the animals had not had any water to drink for about three days, because this was the dry season and the soil was sandy and barren.

From here they went up-stream to a place which is called Robledo;² one day's journey before reaching it, Father Fray Martín González, preacher, a son of the convent of Saint Francis of Mexico, died; his death was as deeply mourned by all as it was envied on account of his great virtue and piety.

They arrived at the villa of Santa Fe, where all went to the convent to give thanks to God and praise and glory to the seraphic father, Saint Francis, for the manifest favors which, through their prayer, they had received on their long and tedious march, their devoted love and affection replacing the votive offerings and customary donations. The friars celebrated their chapter meeting, it being Pentecost when they arrived; and, after the election, the friars were assigned to the different pueblos and settlements belonging to their jurisdiction, among the great pueblo of the Humanas³ and among those called Piros and Tompiros, who had not been baptized because there were not

2. Probably so called because a soldier named Pedro Robledo was buried there as Governor Juan de Oñate was on his way to colonize New Mexico. It was at the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto. See the "Discurso de las Jornadas," May 21, 1598, *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 247.

3. For some observations on this pueblo, see Scholes and Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem." See also our note 134.

enough ministers. His Majesty's alms were distributed among these missions and schools, each one receiving its due. To the said conversions the following fathers were sent: Fray Antonio de Arteaga, preacher; Fray Francisco de la Concepción; Fray Tomás de San Diego, teacher of theology; Fray Francisco Letrado, Fray Diego de la Fuente, Fray Francisco de Azebedo, priests; Fray García de San Francisco and Fray Diego de San Lucas, lay brothers. The Indians received them with glad rejoicings; and, preaching to them through the interpreters whom they had taken along, they instructed and catechized them in the mysteries of our holy faith; and these heathens asked for the most holy water of baptism, thirsting for it; from this it can be seen how God makes Himself known to souls through absolution of baptism.

Father Fray Bartolomé Romero, teacher of theology, and Fray Francisco Muñoz, preacher, went to the nation of the Apaches of Quinía and Manases; as this was the first visit to that warlike nation, they were escorted by Don Francisco de Sylva,⁴ governor of those provinces, and twenty soldiers; this precaution, however, was unnecessary because, on the Indians' part, there was no opposition, and they asked for the sacred ceremony of baptism with great eagerness.

The governor having returned to headquarters with the soldiers, the journey to the Rock of Acoma was arranged, and also the one to the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui. They provided themselves with ten wagons, four hundred cavalry [or armored] horses, together with everything that was most important for the journey, thirty well-armed soldiers, and, much improved in spirit and fervor, Fray Roque de Figueredo, Fray Francisco de Porras, Fray Andrés Gutiérrez, Fray Agustín de Cuéllar, priests; Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura and Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción, lay brothers, accompanied by the father custodian and his companion, the father solicitor, Fray Tomás Manso. They started on this journey on June 23 of the same year and went to Acoma, which is thirty-six leagues to the west from the villa and headquarters of the Spaniards. Their fears were allayed by their good reception at the hands of the

4. Don Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto.

Indians of the Rock who admitted them spontaneously. It is impossible to penetrate this impregnable place, either by force or cunning, because it is a rock as high as Monte Amar in Abasia,⁵ or as the incomparable cliff which Alexander took from the Scythians.

Father Fray Juan Ramírez, priest, remained in this stronghold in order to convert the people to our holy faith, in manifest danger of his life, though he was ready to sacrifice it and offer it to God while working among those valiant barbarians, who, in their wars on other occasions had used their hands with such dexterity that the Spaniards became aware, to their own detriment, of the courage of their enemies.⁶

In search of the province of Zuñi, of which they had already received news, they journeyed toward the west and passed through a bad stretch of country extending for ten leagues, consisting of burnt rocks, which, according to an old tradition, was the result of a great eruption of fire which had burst out there, for we know that this happens with some volcanoes in the Indies, for instance in Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico.⁷ They arrived at the province of Zuñi, which is at a distance of fifty-six leagues from the villa of Santa Fe; and its natives, having tendered their good will and their arms, received them with rejoicing, a thing never heard of before in those parts, namely, that such intractable and various nations should, with the same impulse and appearance, receive the Franciscan friars as if they had already held intercourse with them for a long time. From this it seems quite evident that God kept this vineyard in readiness for these workers.

Presently the governor issued a proclamation that no soldier should be allowed to enter the houses of the pueblo, nor transgress or injure the Indians, under penalty of death, since it is easier to convert an obstinate character by kindness and patience than by means of violence and severity. This land is pleasant

5. Perhaps Abasia, Abcasia, Abhasia, Ahkhasia, or Abkhazska, a densely forested area in the southern Caucasus.

6. This refers to the battle of Acoma in January, 1599. See Villagrà, *History of New Mexico* (Espinosa trans.).

7. See Clarence E. Dutton, *Mount Taylor and the Zuñi Plateau*, Washington, 1896. The Zuñi have a myth in which the great lava flow here noted was said to be due to the congealed blood of a giant.

and fertile, of abundant waters, bright with green pastures, shaded by forests of live oaks, spruce-firs, piñon trees, and wild grapevines. All the people of this colony cling closely to their superstitious idolatry. They have their temples with idols of stone and wood, the latter profusely painted, where no one but their priests may enter, and those only by a trap door which the temples have on the flat roof. They also have gods of the woods, rivers, grainfields, and of their houses, as is told of the Egyptians, and they assign to each one its particular protection.⁸

Here the Spaniards saw a remarkable thing, which consisted of several wooden enclosures, and in them many [rattle-] snakes that wiggled their tongues, hissed, and jumped; snakes that are as menacing as the ferocious bulls in the arena. When our men wished to learn the reason why these snakes were imprisoned, the natives said that with their poison they anointed their arrows which made incurable the wounds that they inflicted on their enemies.⁹

These Indians have an orderly government; their pueblos have streets, and the houses are in rows like those of Spain. The women are clad in cotton clothing, and the men in deer-skins and furs. The land has an abundance of corn, beans, calabashes, and all kinds of game and fowl. In order to make these people understand the true veneration that they should show the friars whenever they met them, the governor and the soldiers kissed their feet, kneeling before them, and urged the Indians to do the same, which they did, because the example of superiors has great influence.

They bought a house for lodging the friars, which at once became the first church of that province, where the first mass was celebrated on the following day. Hoisting the victorious banner of the cross, they took possession both in the name of the Holy See and in that of the king of Spain. These first fruits were followed by loud acclamations from the soldiers, with a salvo of arquebuses, and by skirmishes and horse races [*caracoles*] in the

8. The pueblo was doubtless Håwikuḥ, the largest of the six occupied at that time. See Hodge, *History of Håwikuḥ*, and for the "temples" (kivas), see Hodge, "A Square Kiva at Håwikuḥ."

9. For archaeological evidence of the existence of snake-pens at Håwikuḥ, see Hodge, in *Indian Notes*, Museum of the American Indian, I, no. 3, New York, 1924.

afternoon. And because the presence of the governor was more needed in the headquarters of the villa of Santa Fe than in this place, he arranged for his return with the father custodian and his companions, but Father Fray Roque de Figueredo, well known throughout this kingdom for his great wisdom, virtue, and knowledge, asked most insistently to be allowed to remain there to convert these heathens.¹⁰ He possessed a great many accomplishments, the principal and most necessary of them being to minister to those Indians and instruct them in the divine cult; he was proficient in the ecclesiastical chant, harmony, and plain music as well, expert in the playing of instruments for the choir, such as the organ, bassoon, and cornet. For years he had had good practice in preaching in the Mexican and Matalzingo languages. He was a clear thinker and learned easily any language, even the most difficult, a man who, while one of the definitors of the province of the Holy Gospel and a person held in special love and respect by it, was destined and endowed by God for this conversion through suffering,—a way He has with His servants—as He did with Saint Paul, whom by sudden summons He prepared as preacher. This clearly proves what our Lord, Jesus Christ, said about Saint Paul, that He had shown him how much it availed to suffer for His holy name.

The governor took leave with the regret due such a religious and holy company; Father Fray Roque remained, and with him Fray Agustín Cuéllar, priest, and Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, a lay brother, and three soldiers. Father Fray Roque called together the Indians of the pueblo, the largest of which was called Zibola and was the capital of the others. Through the interpreters that he had brought along, he informed the Indians of the reason for his visit, which was to deliver them from the miserable slavery of the devil and from the utter darkness of their idolatry, and to make them inhabitants of that great House (thus they are wont to call heaven), informing them also of the coming of the Son of God to the world. They listened to this with great attention, because they were intelligent people and of good understanding; and they at once started to serve the friars by bringing them water, firewood, and

10. See Hodge, *History of Håwíkuh*, and the index under Figueredo, Håwíkuh, and Zūñi.

other necessary things. The affairs of Zuñi are in this prosperous condition, and their progress will be treated in the proper place.*

SECOND REPORT OF THE GREAT CONVERSION

WHICH HAS BEEN EFFECTED IN NEW MEXICO. SENT BY FATHER FRAY ESTEVAN DE PEREA, CUSTODIAN OF THE PROVINCES OF NEW MEXICO, TO THE VERY REVEREND FATHER, FRAY FRANCISCO DE APODACA, COMMISSARY GENERAL OF ALL NEW SPAIN, OF THE ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS, GIVING HIM AN ACCOUNT OF THOSE CONVERSIONS AND TREATING PARTICULARLY OF THE EXPEDITION SENT TO THOSE PARTS

By permission of the vicar-general, and of the alcalde, Don Alonso de Bolaños.

Printed in Seville, by Luis Estupiñán, in the Street of the Palms. Year, 1633.

Father Fray Francisco de Porras, a man well known for his holiness and virtue, for six years master of novices in the convent of San Francisco of Mexico, asked for the privilege of penetrating farther inland to save more souls and to discover many people.

He took leave of his good friend, Father Fray Roque, and left Zíbola, very apostolically, with two friars, Fray Andrés Gutiérrez, priest, and Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción, lay brother, their crucifixes hanging from their necks and pilgrims' staffs in their hands. Twelve soldiers accompanied them, more for the pious sentiment of not abandoning such a sacred enterprise than for protection or defense, which would have been very limited considering the large number of people they were to meet, all as skilful at arms as they were tenacious in their wars.

Proceeding on their journey they arrived at the province of Moqui on the day of the glorious San Bernardo, which is the

*[Note inserted by the printers:] As this report is too long for one folio (*pliego*), it has been divided into two parts. The second, very full, will follow shortly.

name of the pueblo now.¹ It is eighty leagues distant from the villa of the Spaniards; its climate is more temperate, but similar to that of Spain in regard to the fruits and seeds that grow here. They harvest much cotton; the houses are of three stories, well planned; the inhabitants are great land tillers and diligent workers. Among them it is considered a great vice to be intoxicated. For amusement they have certain games, and a race which they run with great speed. Here the friars were received with some coolness, because the devil was trying in all possible ways to impede and obstruct the promulgation of the divine law, and he did so on this occasion. Although in his oracles he speaks to his priests and they see him in his formidable aspect, he now took for his tool an Indian apostate from the Christian pueblos; he, preceding them, told the people of Moqui that some Spaniards, whom they would meet shortly, were coming to burn their pueblos, steal their property, and behead their children, and that the other Spaniards with the tonsures and vestments were nothing but impostors and that they should not allow them to sprinkle water on their heads because they would be certain to die from it.

This news so upset the Moquis that secretly they passed it on to their neighbors, the Apaches, with whom at that time they had a truce. Our people felt this disturbance upon entering the place, and it caused them such great uneasiness that they did not sleep that whole night, awaiting a sudden attack. On the second night, the soldier on guard heard the noise of people and called his companions, who quickly got ready, with their armored horses, by the time the enemy captains came to catch them unprepared. The latter, upon finding them so watchful, asked them why they were not asleep. The Spaniards, perceiving their treachery and malice, answered that the soldiers of Spain never slept because they were always ready to defend themselves and fight their enemies. Another night they did the same thing, and

1. The pueblo of San Bernardo (or San Bernardino) de Awátobi, which was destroyed in 1700 by the other Moqui (Hopi) because of fear that the Awátobi dwellers wished to have a new mission established following the Pueblo revolt and destruction of all the missions in 1680-92. Extensive excavations have been conducted by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University under Dr. John Otis Brew, with special attention to the mission establishments by Mr. Ross G. Montgomery, reports on which are in process of publication.

this time, unable to endure the snares laid by the Indians, they threatened them, saying that if they attempted to injure their distinguished guests, the governor would bring his army against them and burn their pueblos and lay waste their fields. When they found that their evil intentions had been discovered, the Indians left in confusion.

In the meantime, the friars, soldiers of the gospel, girded themselves with the armor of prayer in order to subdue and conquer the wiles of Lucifer, and, animated by the courageous impulse which heaven grants its ministering messengers and regardless of contrary misgivings, they set forth through the streets, preaching, the sonorous echoes of their voices at once bringing men and women to listen to them, compelled by a mysterious impulse; not only did the people of the pueblo come, but also many from near-by valleys and neighboring forests. As those saintly men saw that the Indians now approached without fear, they gave them some trinkets which they had brought along, trinkets such as rattles, beads, hatchets, and knives, in order to make them feel that the friars came to give rather than to ask of them. But the Indians excused themselves, because they remembered the evil prediction of the Indian who had told them that if they accepted anything from the friars they would die. They were, however, freed from all their doubts and converted to our holy faith through a great miracle which our Lord brought to pass in that village through the intercession of His servants, but about which we do not wish to report as yet because its authenticity has not been established.

Returning to Father Fray Roque de Figueredo at Zuñi, where he stayed, the common enemy committed the same act of treachery by telling the Indians, with threats, to throw that foreign priest out of their country. They set to work on this idea, all of them revealing their intention, inasmuch as they no longer brought him water or firewood, nor did any of them appear as they were wont to do. At night he heard a great noise of dances, drums, and rattles which among them is a signal of war. Considering trouble certain to come, although always prepared for any adversity, he, deeply moved, was then ready to face the danger, so close at hand; but God aids His own in

the time of greatest need. Thus it happened that one night while he was beseeching the Lord in fervent prayer to send His eternal light into the abysmal darkness of these people, at midnight he saw two Indians coming into his private room. They were of tall and gallant stature, apparently captains, with plumed headdress and carrying arms in warlike fashion. The famous warrior of the church well understood that the end of his life had come, and, falling on his knees, he offered it to God, for his desire to die triumphantly was greater than his fear of the fatal blow at the hands of the barbarous Indians. The captains, guessing by the movements of the friar that he awaited death at their hands, reassured him by signs, wishing him peace, with folded arms. Fray Roque gave his own greeting of peace with a benign and loving countenance. He called the interpreter, who was asleep, and through him he told them that his arrival from far-away regions to theirs was not for the purpose of taking away their property, because he and the members of his order wished to be the poorest on earth, but rather he was bringing them help and wealth in the true knowledge of the one true God, three persons in one; and that this only God was so powerful and strong that, having Him on their side, they would be protected and defended from their spiritual as well as earthly enemies; and that since God was eternal Truth, this was an adequate shield against the nocturnal shadows of those false gods which they worshiped. They, with the kindest words they knew, thanked him for his great trouble of having come to their country without other interest or profit than to seek their welfare and salvation; and, understanding it in this way, they had come to entreat him, as caciques and lords of certain towns five leagues from there, to come freely to their villages, where they wanted to have, regale, and serve him, and that he should not stay where he was² with people who responded to his fatherly love with so much ingratitude. With these and other words of the same kind they remained until daylight, and at the first break of dawn they took leave of Father Fray Roque, saying to him: "Rest now, father, and do not worry; leave it to us to speak to and win over the chiefs of this pueblo." Father

2. That is, at H^áwikuh. The visiting Zuñi chieftains were probably from M^átsaki or K'yákima.

Fray Roque understood very well that this visit was ordained of God, and therefore he remained, greatly comforted, and praised the mercy of God in this serious affliction.

The chieftains kept their word and came on the following day with the chiefs and captains of the pueblo who asked forgiveness for their poor hospitality, confessing that they had been deceived by the oracle of their god who had told them that with the water of baptism they would have to die. If we interpret it rightly, for the words of the demon are equivocal, he really wanted to say that they had to die for their guilt and sin, and for his domination, because with the water of baptism a soul is born again to a new life of grace. To this they added that not only they themselves but the entire pueblo wished to be purified by the sacred ceremony of baptism.

Father Fray Roque received them with friendly affection and at once began to instruct and teach them in the faith, especially the chieftains, who remained with him for several days; as soon as he found that they were well instructed and sufficiently prepared, he arranged for their baptism. In order to add to the pomp of this ceremony, he ordered that a high altar be built in the plaza, where he said mass with all solemnity and baptized them on the day of the glorious Saint Augustine, in this year, 1629, singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, etc.; and because, in accompanying the chant, Father Fray Roque displayed such a fine voice, the devotion of all was very great. He gave the name of Agustín to the highest chief, christening, together with him, several other chiefs, and eight children, the progeny of Christians, who had escaped from the headquarters of the Spaniards. This ceremony took place in sight of that vast multitude, who breathlessly contemplated the celebration of those two sacraments, adorned with such pure ceremonies. The principal cacique was henceforth called Don Agustín; as soon as he was christened, he turned to the people with great ardor and fervently exhorted those who were present to accept such a good law and such a good God; and in order that they might cast aside their error, he told them how he had been baptized and had not died from it, but, on the contrary, that he felt such great rejoicing and courage in his heart that he considered him-

self to be much braver than before. After this they all asked in one voice to become Christians and to have the friar teach them that holy law. Father Fray Roque remains occupied in the cultivation of these primitive flowers of this new church and in offering to God so many souls converted by his faithful labor and holy zeal: fortunate use of such lofty aims, for he had found life in Christ which he determined to lose in love for Him.

At this time the Apaches, the bravest and most courageous nation known in those parts, so vast in number that it almost surrounds all of New Mexico, came to ask for peace with the Christian Indians and the Spaniards; at the same time they begged for ministers to baptize them, although there are already two among them; and the work is of much importance, for it restrained their great daring, by which they had done so much harm.

They gave the fathers twelve Indians to accompany them, and one boy who was to learn the Spanish language and teach them his own; they brought them to the villa of Santa Fe, where they were received with general rejoicing due to the success of their heroic enterprise. There they endeavored to obtain wagons and other provisions in order to return to the Humanas in the following month of March.

The country has abundant cattle; the land is fertile and bears fruit in such abundance that from one fanega of grain that is sown one hundred are harvested. It is rich in metals and precious stones; and also in silver, which yields eight ounces by mercury treatment and four marks by smelting.

This is what there is to report at the present time of what has taken place in this enterprise. LAUS DEO.

EDITORIAL NOTES

1. Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini), member of a powerful and learned family, was born in Florence in April, 1568, elected pope on August 6, 1623, and died at Rome on July 29, 1644. He was a great patron of Catholic foreign missions, erected dioceses and vicariates in pagan countries, and encouraged the missionaries by word and financial assistance.

2. The order of Saint Francis, the members of which are popularly called Franciscans, was founded in 1210 by Saint Francis of Assisi (Francis Bernardone), born at Assisi in Umbria, in 1181 or 1182. Saint Francis has been severely arraigned by Thomas of Celano, his first biographer, for his youthful worldliness, but after a severe illness he turned to a life of ascetic devotion and thenceforward his burning desire was the conversion of souls. Accordingly, he set out for Syria in 1212, but shipwreck on the coast of Slavonia led him to return to Ancona. He devoted the following year to the evangelizing of central Italy, and in 1214 departed for Morocco to convert the infidels, but severe illness while in Spain caused him to return to Italy once more. In 1219, Saint Francis sent out his foremost disciples, each on a separate mission, in an endeavor to realize his project of evangelizing the infidels, he himself choosing the seat of war between the Crusaders and the Saracens. Though he did not realize this ambition, the order grew with amazing rapidity. At the famous assembly held at Porziuncola in 1220 or 1221, at Whitsuntide, 5,000 friars are said to have been present, besides 500 applicants for admission into the order. In 1224, while fasting and praying on Mount La Verna, Saint Francis received the stigmata (see note 126). Being rigidly devoted to his vow of poverty and enduring frequent fasts, he became much worn in body after eighteen years of unremitting toil, finally falling into serious illness. He died October 3, 1226, and was canonized July 16, 1228.

The Franciscan order was sanctioned by Pope Innocent III in the year of its organization, but was more formally ratified in 1223 by Pope Honorarius III. Under various names it gained rapidly in membership throughout Europe, the Minorites, or Friars Minor, the Barefoot Friars, and the Gray Friars being most popularly known. Their vows are poverty, chastity, and obedience, special stress being laid on preaching and ministry to body and soul. Severity of the rules of the order early resulted in dissension, and in the 15th century it became divided into the Observants and the Conventuals, the former, as the name implies, following the stringent rules originally adopted, the Conventuals being more liberal. Their garb consists of a coarse brown or gray gown and cowl, hence "Gray Friars," with a girdle of knotted rope, and sandals; formerly they went barefooted and bareheaded, hence "Barefoot Friars." Popes Sixtus V and Clement XIV were members of the order.

The Second Franciscan Order of Poor Ladies, now known as Poor Clares, was founded in 1212 through an appeal to Saint Francis by Clare of Assisi, Clare Scifi, a young heiress of his native town, to be allowed to

embrace the new manner of life he had founded. In 1218, the Order of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance, now known as the Third Order of Saint Francis, was established. This order is designed for the middle state between the world and the cloister, for those who cannot forsake their homes or desert their wonted vocations.

It is evident from Benavides' statement (ch. xxix, *infra*) that the Franciscan missionaries in New Mexico in the 17th century practiced public flagellation. An outgrowth of the Third order, still existent among the lower classes of Spanish Americans in New Mexico and Colorado, is known among its members as "Los Hermanos Penitentes de la Tercer Orden de San Francisco." Formerly of large membership and wide range, it has declined in recent years by reason of the ban placed on the organization by the Church, but in a few localities its members are still comparatively strong and practice flagellation and other barbarous rites, but the custom of binding one of their number to a cross on Good Friday in imitation of the Crucifixion is said to have been abandoned. For a biography of Saint Francis and a bibliography of the Franciscan order, see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. vi, and for an account of the Penitentes of New Mexico, consult Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo*, pp. 77-108; Darley, *The Passionists of the Southwest*; Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*; Lee, "Los Hermanos Penitentes"; Henderson, *Brothers of Light*. See *infra*, note 126.

3. Benavides' statement of the conversion of half a million souls, obviously within his jurisdiction, is vastly exaggerated; indeed, this figure was many times more than the entire population of the province of New Mexico in Benavides' time, or since. In his letter to the king, which prefaced the Memorial of 1630, Santander mentioned that the whole population within the *custodia* numbered 34,320, and even this was far too high. Yet the reader is led by Santander to believe that "for besides the treasure of five hundred thousand souls converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, and made subject to your Majesty (of the which there are already baptized more than eighty-six thousand)," etc. Writing about the same time Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón stated that the blood of the missionaries "had so fructified the land that through it there have been baptized 34,650 souls (as I have counted on the baptismal records), not counting the many that at present continue to be converted." (Zárate Salmerón's *Relation in Land of Sunshine*, p. 341. See also his account of Oñate's journey to California in Bolton's *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 268-280.) One may hardly suppose that these exorbitant figures could have referred to the results of the conversions of the Indians of Mexico, for in paragraph v of the present Memorial the author asserts that in and following the time of Cortés the missionaries "baptized more than fifteen million Indians, . . . and this number does not pertain to this Old Mexico, but to the New." Even Bandelier, ever the advocate of the Spanish missionaries whenever brought into question for inaccuracies, excuses the population figures of Benavides on the ground that his "*Memorial* is, in many respects, a 'campaign document,' " the purpose of which was "to induce the king to favor the missions . . ."

4. While human sacrifice for religious purposes was not uncommon in Mexico and Central America, it was very rare among the Pueblo Indians.

It is untrue that any of the Indians in the present United States were cannibals in the ordinary sense of the term. There were instances in which a part of the body, especially the heart, of a slain enemy who had shown special valor in battle was divided among his warrior opponents in order that they might absorb the prowess of the slain one. There is no evidence, however, that this custom prevailed among any of the Indians of New Mexico. In his narrative of the Coronado expedition, Castañeda says specifically that the people of Cíbola (Zuñi) do not eat human flesh. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 253.

5. This statement must not be interpreted to mean that Christianity replaced the native religious beliefs in any case, for while crosses, churches, and convents were erected, and the Indians were baptized and in some instances taught the Spanish language, the rudiments of education, certain simple trades, and church music, they continued the practice of their native rites, although often in secrecy, owing to opposition on the part of the missionaries. These ceremonies persist to the present time among all the Pueblos and in many cases are surrounded with such secrecy that white people know little or nothing of them.

6. Such terms of royalty, although commonly employed by Europeans in America in the seventeenth century, were of course improperly used to designate Indian tribal rulers. It was in this way that the English referred to "King" Powhatan, "King" Philip, the "Princess" Pocahontas, and others for the want of better titles for Indian chiefs, their sons and daughters. Even today mixed-bloods apply to themselves such titles, especially if engaged in the theatrical profession or in merchandizing Indian or pseudo-Indian goods; and it would seem that the greater the degree of white or negro blood, the more likely are they to assume such high-sounding but ridiculous titles.

7. Puerto Belo, or Porto Bello, is at the mouth of the Rio Cascajal, about 21 miles northeast of Colón, Panamá. The distance from the city of Panamá to Porto Bello is more nearly 15 Spanish leagues in an airline; the length of the Panamá canal from deep water to deep water is about 19 leagues, or 50 miles.

8. For the fabled Strait of Anian, see Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*. The name "Avis," which appears on the Ulpius globe of 1542, is believed by Dr. Wagner (p. 297) to be an error for *Acus*, one of the questionable New Mexico names, usually ascribed to Acoma, noted by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539.

9. The climate of the present New Mexico, which lies between 31° 20' and 37° N. lat., varies, of course, according to altitude. The area from Albuquerque to Santa Fe, which in the main is that part of the Rio Grande valley of which Benavides treats, ranges from 5008 to 6998 feet above sea level, consequently the winters are often cold and streams become frozen. The annual mean temperature ranges from 42.4° at Winsors in San Miguel county (8000 feet) to 65° at Carlsbad (3122 feet) in Eddy county. The highest temperature averages about 112° at Carlsbad and the lowest at Bluewater in Valencia county, -12°. In 1879, the Santa Fe temperature

ranged from 95° to -13°, but the climate being dry and healthful, high summer temperature is not comparable with similar readings at lower altitudes. Abundant testimony has been afforded by priests that wine has frozen in the chalices, confirming Benavides' statement to that effect.

10. Estufa. Literally, the Spanish term for "stove," a misnomer now superseded by the more appropriate term *kiva*, the Hopi name of the ceremonial chamber of the Pueblo tribes. In very early times the estufa, or kiva, was the abode of the men of the tribe, as well as the place in which secret rites were performed, and in the ruins of the ancient cliff-dwellings there are a remarkable number of them. Kivas are likewise the lounging places of the men—their club-rooms, so to speak—when not occupied for ceremonial purposes.

Kivas may be circular or rectangular, subterranean, semi-subterranean, or entirely above ground, and either isolated from the dwellings or obscured by them. They are entered by a hatchway in the roof, which is reached by a ladder, and are provided with an opening or openings in the wall sufficient only to afford light and ventilation. In the middle of the chamber is a firepit, the smoke from which escapes through the hatchway above; there is also a small opening in the floor at one side to symbolize the *Sipapu*, the place of origin and of departed spirits; usually the interior wall is surrounded by a bench of masonry, and there is often a low platform, also of masonry, at the rear of the ladder. The floors are usually paved with stone slabs, but in some instances they are of adobe, smoothly plastered, while at Walpi, Arizona, a kiva is floored with hewn planks from the former mission church. Generally the walls of kivas are smoothly plastered and are without decoration of any sort, but in some cases the walls have paintings of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic beings which pertain to Pueblo worship. In most of the Pueblo kivas ceremonies are performed which no white person has ever witnessed; this is notably the case with the Rio Grande villages.

The "estufas" of the Pueblos are first mentioned by the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition. "There are estufas in the pueblos, in which they gather to take counsel, and which are located in the patios or plazas," says Castañeda (Hammond and Rey, trans., p. 253). "These young men live in the estufas, which are located in the patios of the pueblo. They are built underground, either square or round, with pine columns. Some have been seen having twelve pillars, four to the cell, two fathoms thick; the common ones had three or four columns. The floors are paved with large smooth slabs like the baths in Europe. In the interior there is a fireplace like the binnacle of a boat where they burn a handful of brush with which they keep up the heat. They can remain inside the estufa as in a bath. The top is even with the ground. We saw some so large that they could be used for a game of ball." (*Ibid.*, pp. 254-255.) "The natives [of the Rio Grande pueblos] have their estufas as at Cíbola." ("Relación Postrera de Cíbola," in *ibid.*, p. 309.) "All the pueblos have estufas underground, well protected, although not very elaborate." (Jaramillo, in *ibid.*, p. 300.)

For specific information on prehistoric kivas and an early historic kiva, see Hodge, "Circular Kivas near Háwikuh, New Mexico"; and "A Square Kiva at Háwikuh," in *So Live the Works of Men*, pp. 195-214. Many other

kivas are described and illustrated in the numerous reports on archaeological excavations in the Southwest.

11. This is *Pinus edulis*, which still grows abundantly, especially in the higher altitudes. The nuts are gathered in immense quantities by the Indians and Spanish Americans, especially. The piñon is not cultivated.

12. In the Memorial of 1630 (pp. 18-19), the author devotes considerable attention to the "Mines of Socorro," to which it may be added that there were persistent assertions, especially by the early missionaries, as to the mineral wealth of New Mexico. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who served in New Mexico between 1621 and 1626, and who had prepared a report of his observations by 1629, refers also to the mineral deposits in the Socorro mountains, as well as to the extent of the mineral wealth of the province in general. He wrote in the following terms:

"As for saying that it is a poor [country], I answer that there has not been discovered in the world a country of more mineral deposits than New Mexico, of every sort of assay, good and bad. There are *minas* [mineral deposits] in the Socorro mountains, in the Salt Lakes [the Salinas east of the Rio Grande], in the mountains of Puaray [the Sandias east of Bernalillo], in Tunque, in the Puerto, in Ciénega, in San Marcos, in Galisteo, in Los Pozos, in Picuries (in this pueblo are garnet mines), in Zama [Chama]. In all the ranges of the Hemex [Jemez] there is nothing but deposits, where I discovered many and filed on them for His Majesty. From the which I took out eighteen arrobas [1 arroba = 25.317 lbs. av.] of ore. As I returned [to Mexico] I distributed these ores at all the mining camps I passed in order that all might see the ores of New Mexico. Before all things, there are mineral deposits, and there is no corner which has them not. The Spaniards that are there are too poor in capital to work the deposits, and are of less spirit; enemies to work of any sort. Well, in that country we have seen silver, copper, lead, loadstone [magnetic iron], copperas, alum, sulphur, and mines of turquoise which the Indians work in their paganism, since to them it is as diamonds and precious stones. At all this the Spaniards who are there laugh; as they have a good crop of tobacco to smoke, they are very content, and wish no more riches. It seems as if they had taken the vow of poverty—which is much for Spaniards, who out of greed for silver and gold would enter Hell itself to get them.

"I prove this truth that no one may doubt if they are as spiritless as all this; and I say: It will be nine years since there came into that country, in search of mines, three Flemings, citizens of this City of Mexico, named Juan Fresco, Juan Descalzo, and Rodrigo Lorenzo, very honest men of entire truth and good example. They found many ore-bodies, made many assays, got out silver—as we all saw—and came back to this New Spain, where they bought tools and other necessary articles and got a miner and a refiner. They returned the second time. The day the news [of their return] reached the town of the Spaniards [Santa Fe] that these said Flemings were returning to work mines, that same night they set fire to the workshops in which they were to treat the ore. The which was done since Don Pedro de Peralta was governor [1610-14]; for he was inclined to this; and with his contracts everything became quiet. By this is seen their depraved temper, and that it troubles them, since they are enemies

of silver, that others should mine it." (*Relación*, paragraphs 34-35, translated in *Land of Sunshine*, December, 1899, pp. 43-44.)

But in the face of such a roseate account, so high an authority as Bandelier denies that mineral deposits existed in paying quantities. The following extracts are of special interest in this connection:

"The current notions of rich Spanish mines in New Mexico, and of great metallic wealth which the Spaniards derived from that territory, are the purest myths and fables. The opinion in which New Mexico was held in Spain as well as in Mexico is expressed by A. von Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne* (ed. of 1827, vol. II, p. 246): 'Plusieurs géographes paraissent confondre le Nouveau Mexique avec les Provincias Internas: ils en parlent comme d'un pays riche en mines, et d'une vaste étendue . . . Ce qu'il appelle l'empire du Nouveau Mexique n'est qu'un rivage habité par de pauvres colons. C'est un terrain fertile, mais dépeuplé, dépourvu, à ce que l'on croit jusqu'ici, de toutes richesses métalliques.' The earliest explorers and settlers collected samples of ore which proved to be rich, but as early as 1602 the chief authorities at Mexico became rather sceptical concerning the mineral wealth of the territory. The Count of Monterey says, in "Discurso y Proposición (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. XVI, p. 45): 'Y no es aquello tan esteril como la gente que se vino la pintaba, ni tan próspero como otros lo hacen, y lo representó el Gobernador en las relaciones del año de noventa y nueve.' *Ibid.*, p. 50: 'Y cierto que yo no tengo perdida esperanza de que se haya de verificar lo que el Gobernador todavía afirma, de que hay plata en algunos cerros de aquella comarca en que está.' . . . After the rebellion of 1680, several so-called mines were entered by prospectors. For instance, one in the Jornada del Muerto in 1685 (*Registro de una Mina de Pedro de Abalos*, MS.), and several in 1713. But in 1725 we are officially informed by the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera,—who was commissioned to inspect all the military posts or presidios of the North and the districts thereto pertaining,—that up to that date no mines had been worked in New Mexico, owing to the low grade of the ore. I give the words from his *Diario y Derrotero* (p. 32): 'Hanse encontrado en dicho Reyno, algunos Minerales, sin dar su metal mas ley, que la de Alquimia, y Cobre: y como no se ha podido costear el beneficio que necesita, las han dejado abandonadas.' These citations ought to be conclusive, and to dispose of the myths about Spanish treasure taken from New Mexico, as also of the other not less ridiculous tale, that the uprising of 1680 was produced chiefly by the hard labor to which the Pueblo Indians were compelled in mines in New Mexico." (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 195-196.)

"The term 'minas,' in older Spanish, is used to designate the localities where minerals are found, equivalent to the German 'Fundorte,' and not worked mines, in the English sense of the term, or the French. This has caused a misunderstanding which misled the majority of prospectors." (*Ibid.*, pt. II, p. 94; see also pt. I, p. 13; pt. II, p. 241, and consult Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*, pp. 93-94; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*; Jones, *New Mexico Mines and Minerals*; and, *The Land of Sunshine, A Handbook of the Resources, Products, Industries and Climate of New Mexico* (2d ed.), compiled and edited by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter; Luxán, *Expedition into New Mexico, 1582-83*; Espinosa,

"Legend of Sierra Azul," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, ix, April, 1934; Northrop, *Minerals of New Mexico*, with bibliography. The book by Frost and Walter (p. 345) says: "Socorro County leads all other counties in mineral production and has more mining districts than any other county, two of which, the Magdalena and Cooney districts, are world famous. In the first named, two mines, the Graphic and the Kelly, have to date produced \$6,000,000 worth of silver and lead ore and are now producing a large amount of zinc," etc.

13. Here Benavides stretches a point, for of course there were no seaports, no navigable streams, no amber, pearls, or coral within the confines of the New Mexico of our author's time. If he were treating of Mexico as a whole, his statement would be more worthy of consideration. The limits of New Mexico at this period were very indefinite, due to lack of knowledge of the region beyond the area of actual colonization or occupancy by sedentary Indian tribes. Regarding the confines of the province in the eighteenth century, Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de las Indias Occidentales ó América*, III, p. 183, gives the following description which might also have served for Benavides' time: . . . "confina por el S con las Provincias de Cinaloa, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo Reyno de Leon: por el S y SE con la Florida: por el NE con el Canadá ó Nueva Francia; y por el O. NO. y SO. con las Californias extendiendose por el N, cuyos limites se ignoran todavia: comprehende su extension desde 260. hasta 275. gr. de long., y desde 28. hasta 45. de lat: tiene de largo 350. leguas NS y 150. de ancho EO." For an historical account of the boundary of the present state, see Gannett, *Boundaries of the United States and of the Several States and Territories*, 2d ed.

For the introduction of coral into New Mexico by trade, see Hodge, "Coral Among Early Southwestern Indians," *The Masterkey*, May, 1943. As to pearls, consult Wagner, "Pearl Fishing Enterprises in the Gulf of California," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, x. For turquoise, see note 84 below.

14. In the Memorial of 1630, Benavides mentioned "zorras, lobos, leones, gatos monteses, y ossos . . ." His lions are mountain lions or pumas; the tigers may be wildcats. The deer is the mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), but he greatly exaggerates its size. It was not harnessed by the Indians to their carts, of which they had none. In the 1630 Memorial, the author ascribes this custom to the *maese de campo*, whoever and wherever he may have been at that time, and not to the Indians.

15. The name *Cíbola* was first employed in 1539 by Fray Marcos de Niza, who learned of it as the name of the "province" of the Zuñi Indians in the language of one of the Piman tribes of what is now northern Sonora or southern Arizona. Later it was applied by this Franciscan to the pueblo of Háwikuh of the Zuñi, the principal and only one of the seven (really six) seen by him, according to his own account, and that to which Coronado gave the name Granada in the following year. Bearing in mind the *Relación* of Cabeza de Vaca, who with his companions made that wonderful first journey across the buffalo plains of Texas between 1528 and 1536, the name *Cíbola* for a time became the designation of the then practically unknown and otherwise unnamed region of the north, and, naturally

enough (when the illusion concerning the "Seven Cities of Cibola"—as the Zúñi pueblos were called—had been dispelled), Cibola, Síbola, Zíbolo, etc., became the name by which was known the most numerous as well as the most noteworthy beast (*Bison americanus*) which inhabited the area covered by the marvelous explorations that followed.

The buffalo seen by Cabeza de Vaca were not the very first to greet the eyes of a Spaniard, however, for it is recorded that Montezuma had among other animals in his zoological collection a "Mexican bull" which was said to be "a wonderful composition of divers animals; it has crooked shoulders, with a hunch on its back like a camel; its flanks dry, its tail large, and its neck covered with hair like a lion; it is cloven-footed, its head armed like that of a bull, which it resembles in fierceness, with no less strength and agility." Even the briefest sketch of the bison from the date of these early references to the settlement of the Great West, when the fate of the untold millions of these noble beasts became sealed through systematic, relentless, cruel, and shameful slaughter, cannot here be given, owing to limitations of space. Yet a word on the importance of the animal to the tribes of the plains seems necessary. No writer, early or recent, has more tersely or completely covered the ground in this direction than the author of the *Relación Postrera de Sívola*. He says: "These Indians live or sustain themselves entirely from the cattle, for they neither grow nor harvest maize. With the skins they build their houses; with the skins they clothe and shoe themselves; from the skins they make ropes and also obtain wool. With the sinews they make thread, with which they sew their clothes and also their tents. From the bones they shape awls. The dung they use for firewood, since there is no other fuel in that land. The bladders they use as jugs and drinking containers. They sustain themselves on their meat, eating it slightly roasted and heated over the dung. Some they eat raw . . . They drink the blood just as it comes out of the cattle . . . They have no other food." (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 310-311.)

The *Relación* might have added that the skins also provided traveling bags, shields, and coffins. Can we point, in the history of mankind, to another animal that has served every purpose of food and drink, clothing, shelter, fuel? Little wonder, then, that the passing of the buffalo meant also the passing of the Indian hunter, who thenceforth must be forced between fixed bounds, usually on lands that his white neighbor had little use for, an abused, dissatisfied dependent, whose principal object in life was to be present on "issue day."

The practical disappearance of the bison was due to a wantonness that would scarcely have been possible without the aid of the railroads. The completion of the Union Pacific in 1869 divided the herds forever, and soon the systematic slaughter began; hundreds of thousands were killed for their tongues alone. During the years from 1872 to 1874, the railroads across the plains shipped 1,378,359 hides, while the total number of buffalo killed by the whites during this period exceeded three millions, all of these from the southern herd. By 1887, the only buffalo remaining in the southern plains were a herd of 200 in northwestern Texas. In the winter of that year, two parties, one headed by a certain Lee Howard, attacked them, killing 52, evidently for the pittance there was in it. The northern

herd went the same way—but by different roads. It is estimated that for fifty years prior to the building of the Northern Pacific in 1881-82, from 50,000 to 100,000 hides were annually shipped down the Missouri river by traders to railroad points. In 1881, a hundred thousand buffalo were butchered by men employed at a monthly wage; by 1882, there were 5,000 white butchers and skinners on the northern range; in 1883, a single herd of 75,000, as if regardless of their fate, crossed the Yellowstone and headed for Canada; but the butchers and skinners were on their track—one-fifteenth of their number reached the Dominion, but these did not last long. The rest of the story is well known. The various "Societies for the Prevention," etc., came forward, but it was too late. Robes were bringing fancy prices; the meat of a stray bison was now worth shipping; later the horns and the bones were found to be marketable—and perhaps it is well that these thousands of tons of bleaching reminders of a national shame were gathered and ground into fertilizer. Consult Allen in *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Kentucky*, I, pt. II, 1876; Hornaday in *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1887*. For the application of the name Cibola to the Zuñi pueblos, see Hodge, *History of Håwíkuh, New Mexico*.

16. The first domestic animals of the kinds here mentioned were taken to the Southwest by Coronado in 1540. The only animals domesticated by the Indians of our Southwest were the dog and the turkey.

17. Although it was once the popular belief that America was peopled by way of Europe, the general consensus of opinion now is that the first inhabitants of America came from northeastern Asia via Bering strait and probably the Aleutian islands. There are very strong physical resemblances between the northwesternmost natives of America and the primitive tribes of northeastern Asia. Benavides was not far from correct in his statement of the origin of the American Indians. The evidence thus far adduced indicates to anthropologists and geologists generally that man appeared on the Western continent in Late Pleistocene times, or ten to fifteen thousand years ago. See Huntington, *The Red Man's Continent*.

18. Reference is here made to the Mexican codices, a number of which escaped destruction at the hands of the Church authorities following the Conquest. For a brief account of the Mexican writing, see Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, pp. 201-205.

19. This, of course, alludes to the Aztec origin and migration, their settlement at Tenochtitlán about 1325 A.D., and the building of the temple to Huitzilopochtli, their patron diety. Benavides may well have taken his story from Villagrà's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Alcalá, 1610, which records the same tale. See pp. 46-48 of the translation by Gilberto Espinosa. Consult also Sahagún, Bernardino de, *A History of Ancient Mexico*, trans. by Fanny R. Bandelier, vol. I (all published); Bancroft, *Native Races*; Saville, Tizoc, *Great Lord of the Aztecs*. The literature of the subject is extensive.

20. The reference is doubtless to Lake Chapala in the eastern part of the state of Jalisco, and to Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua.

21. These Teoas are not the same as the Tewa (Tehua), Tigua, or Taos Indians of New Mexico, regardless of the fancied resemblance of their names. See the following note.

22. Teoas (Tewa). Our author confuses the "Teoas" tribe, before mentioned, with the Tewa of New Mexico, among which latter he conducted much of his missionizing. See also paragraph xxxiii. The "Teoas" he now refers to were the Tewa group of pueblos on and near the upper Rio Grande, northwest of Santa Fe, and another, called Hano, established after Benavides' time among the Hopi of Arizona. According to Gatschet, the name *tewa* signifies "houses," but Harrington, *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*, regards the etymology as obscure. Almost the only information concerning the archaeology of the Tewa is summarized by Bandelier in his *Final Report* (pt. ii, p. 51 *et seq.*), aside from the results of the more recent investigations by Dr. Edgar L. Hewett of the ruined Tewa pueblos in the Pajarito region. (See Hewett, *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau*; also his *Ancient Life in the American Southwest*; Bandelier and Hewett, *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*; Reed, Eric K., "The Southern Tewa Pueblos in the Historic Period," *El Palacio*, Nov.-Dec., 1943.)

The Tewa were first visited by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo, of Coronado's army, in 1541. Castañeda, who records the fact, states that the natives "of Yuque-Yunque [Yugewinge] abandoned two very beautiful pueblos [the other was evidently Oh-ké, or San Juan] which were on opposite sides of the river, while the army was establishing camp, and went to the sierra where they had four very strong pueblos which could not be reached by the horses because of the craggy land." (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 244.) This group of pueblos was further described as being twenty leagues below Taos (Braba or Valladolid). Instead of six Tewa villages, there must have been at least nine in Coronado's time in addition to those in the "sierra," namely, Yugewinge, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Tesuque, Pojoaque, Cuyamunge, and Jacona, all of which, except Yugewinge, existed in Benavides' time (he mentions eight), as well as at the time of the Pueblo insurrection of 1680, although the last three must have been quite small. Espejo, in 1583, did not visit the Tewa (see Luxán's *Journal of the Espejo Expedition*, pp. 117-119). Castaño de Sosa, in 1591, so far as can be determined from his indefinite narrative, visited the Tewa, as did Oñate, seven years later, who established the first European settlement at Oh-ké, named San Juan Bautista, in August, 1598. Oñate mentions also Sant Ylefonso or Boue, Sant Joan Baptista or Caypa, Tziatzi, Tziaque, Tzóomaxiaquimo, Xiomato, Axol, Camitza, and Quiotzaco among his Teguas pueblos, to minister to whose spiritual needs Fray Cristóbal de Salazar was assigned (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, pp. 115, 256. Note: The names here given are taken from the original Oñate documents, which are abominably misspelled in the published work. See Hodge, "Pueblo Names in the Oñate Documents," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, x, 1935.)

It should be noted that Oñate evidently transposed the names of San Juan and Santa Clara, the native names being Oh-ké and K'hápóo ("Caypa") respectively. The other seven pueblos mentioned by him are not identifiable with any of the Tewa villages known to have been inhabited at that time. The churches and convents among the Tewa pueblos mentioned by Benavides, in addition to those at Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, were evidently at San Juan and Nambé, the latter established

by the year 1613. These pueblos, as well as the others of the historical period, are described briefly below. The present Tewa population, including Hano, is about 1,600; about the year 1680 it was fewer than 2,500, consequently Benavides' estimate of 6,000 for the eight pueblos in 1630 may be regarded as in excess of the actual number. For an important memoir on these Pueblos, consult John P. Harrington, *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*; see also Bandelier, *The Delight Makers*; Curtis, *The North American Indian*, xvii, pp. 4-82; Parsons, *Social Organization of the Tewa*. For a list of writings on the Tewa, see Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*.

Yugewinge (of obscure etymology). This was the Yuqueyunque of Castañeda, as above mentioned, and the Yunque of later writers, at the site of which, opposite and in view of San Juan, at the mouth of the Rio Chama, where Chamita later stood, Oñate's headquarters were set up in 1599, after leaving San Juan Bautista, being then transferred to Santa Fe when that town was established in 1610. Meanwhile the Tewa voluntarily relinquished their village and joined their kindred at San Juan (see Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 244, 259; Oñate in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, pp. 262-264; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 58 *et seq.*, and *Gilded Man*, p. 286; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 318, repr. 1871; Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*; Bloom, "When Was Santa Fe Founded?").

A convent was established at San Gabriel (or Yunque) after the Spaniards moved there in 1599 or 1600, from which San Juan and Santa Clara were administered. Thereafter the situation is obscure. There were few friars in New Mexico immediately after 1601, but by 1610 there were reports of new missionary success, the work centering at San Gabriel, San Juan, and San Ildefonso.

San Juan. Native name *Oh-ké*, or '*Okeoñwi*', of obscure etymology according to Harrington. This pueblo stands near the east bank of the Rio Grande, twenty-five miles northwest of Santa Fe. According to tradition the San Juan Indians occupied, before the coming of the Spaniards, the pueblos of Pio-ge, Sajiu-uingge, and Phoju-uingge, but moved to the vicinity of their present village before 1540. It formed the headquarters of Oñate and his colonists before the transfer to the western side of the Rio Grande at the pueblo of San Gabriel, a move which took place some time between the spring of 1599 and July, 1600. Virtually all of the contemporary documents give the name of San Juan as San Juan Bautista, while Benavides (paragraph xxiii) and Villagrà called it San Juan de los Caballeros, Saint John of the Gentlemen, the latter stating that it was "in memory of those noble sons who first raised in these barbarous regions the bloody tree upon which Christ perished for the redemption of mankind."

There is one specific reference to "the city of San Francisco de los Españoles, which is under construction," under date of September 9, 1598, which probably referred to the villa which Oñate and his colonists started to build at or near the pueblo of San Juan Bautista in the autumn of 1598. There is no indication that the town was ever built, for in July, 1600, the Spanish headquarters had been moved to the pueblo of San Gabriel, which consisted of some 400 houses, a pueblo which the Indians had made available for the use of their Spanish visitors, as mentioned above. (See *Doc.*

Inéd. de Indias, xvi, p. 116, and the Valverde Inquiry, A. G. I., *Audiencia de México*, legajo 26.)

A church was erected at San Juan immediately after Oñate established headquarters there, and we are informed by Benavides (paragraph xxiii) that Fray Cristóbal de Salazar was assigned as missionary to San Juan because the Spaniards there requested him. There is mention of San Juan Oque as of 1613, as if it had a church or at least a place where services could be held. The earliest mention of a guardian is for 1665, but no doubt the convent had been established earlier, although for part of the time prior to 1665 San Juan was a *visita* of Santa Clara or San Ildefonso. In 1665, the missionary at San Juan was Fray Miguel de Guevara, the next year Fray Sebastián de Contreras, and, in 1672, Fray Felipe Montes. Just before the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 it contained 300 inhabitants, who were ministered to by the missionary at San Ildefonso. The San Juan Indians joined the other Tewa in the Pueblo revolt, but did not suffer from the Reconquest as did some of the Queres villages, the inhabitants submitting without difficulty when Vargas appeared among them on October 2, 1692. The various allusions in books to the application of the name San Juan de los Caballeros because its inhabitants did not participate in the revolt are without foundation; indeed Popé, the leader of the insurrection, was a native of San Juan, although he sowed the seed of the uprising at Taos. San Juan had a population of 346 Spaniards and 404 Indians in 1749; in 1782, 500 inhabitants of San Juan and Santa Clara died of pestilence in two months; in 1793, the population was 260 Indians and 2,173 Spaniards; in 1850, 568 Indians. The population in 1940 was 662. Consult Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 21, 61 *et seq.*, and documents cited therein; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 318, repr. 1871; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*; Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercurio Volante* (translated by Irving A. Leonard); Oñate in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, tomo xvi; Parsons, "Social Organization of the Tewa"; Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1944 and Jan., 1945; Aberle, Watkins, and Pitney, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," *Human Biology*, May, 1940. See note 68.

Santa Clara. Native name *K'ha-pó-o*, said to mean "Where the wild rosebushes grow near the water." Vetancurt (*Crónica*, pp. 317-318, repr. 1871) says of this pueblo: "... lugar de árboles de manzanas, y donde se cogia mucha rosa de Castilla, lino y cáñamo," etc.; but J. P. Harrington does not regard any of the suggested meanings as correct. This pueblo, to which the first saint name was given by Oñate, is situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 20 miles northwest of Santa Fe and 1½ miles south of Española. Regarding the prehistoric habitations of the Santa Clara Tewa, known as Puyé and Shufina, Shufiné, in the pumice cliffs near Santa Clara cañon, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 64 *et seq.*; Hewett, "Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau"; Hewett, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest*; Bandelier and Hewett, *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*. The church at Santa Clara was founded by Benavides, according to his own statement, and evidently the convent, where he established his custodial seat, was also built by him. In October, 1895, and again in the summer of 1899, the present writer was informed by a *viejo* of Santa Clara that the original *K'ha-pó-o* stood a few hundred yards northwest of the present

village, whence its inhabitants moved to the Puyé mesa on account of Navaho inroads, but were finally induced by the Spaniards to build the present town (cf. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, p. 65). Santa Clara had a convent, established by Benavides in c. 1628, and about the year 1641 had San Juan as a *visita*, and a population of 553; but in 1666 the friar at San Ildefonso served Santa Clara and San Juan as well. Fray Antonio Pérez was at Santa Clara in 1638. Prior to the rebellion of 1680-92, in which Santa Clara participated like the other Tewa villagers, it had a reported population of 300. It had no resident priest at that time, as the pueblo was a *visita* of San Ildefonso. Bandelier fixes the date of the erection of the present church at 1761, and states that "the former pueblo and church have long since disappeared, but their site is still known to the Indians, north of the pueblo." In 1782, Santa Clara and San Juan lost 500 of their people by an epidemic; in the same year, Santa Clara had a resident priest, and San Ildefonso was its *visita*. Population: 1749, 21 Spaniards and 277 Indians; 1760, 257; 1788, 452 (including Spaniards?); 1805, 186; 1850, 279; 1890, 225; 1940, 503. Bandelier states that the former decline in population was due largely to the constant interkilling for supposed evil practices of sorcery (*Archaeological Institute Papers*, pt. 1, pp. 32-35; *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 23, 64 et seq.).

San Ildefonso. Native name *P'o-hwó-ge*, "Place where the water runs." Situated near the east bank of the Rio Grande, about 18 miles northwest of Santa Fe. It was first mentioned in 1598 by Oñate as "Boue, que llamamos Sant ylefonso" (*Discurso, Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 256), at which time it was situated a mile from the present village. It was the seat of a convent as early as 1601, when Fray Francisco de San Miguel was in charge (Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629," in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1944, p. 328); but the first permanent mission there was established in 1610 by Fray Andrés Baptista, who served there until 1632; and we find also that Fray Alonso Peinado was assigned to San Ildefonso in 1612 (Scholes and Bloom, in *ibid.*, p. 335). See paragraph xxxiii of the Memorial.

In 1640, the friar was Fray Diego Franco; in 1661, Fray Miguel de Guevara; in 1667, Fray Felipe Rodríguez; and, in 1672, Fray Andrés Durán. In c. 1641, it still had a church and convent; it also had two *visitas* and a population of 400. At the outbreak of the revolt of 1680 it contained 800 inhabitants, and had two resident missionaries, Fray Antonio Sánchez de Pro and Fray Luis de Morales, who ministered also to the *visitas* San Juan and Santa Clara. Both of these were murdered on August 10 of the year named—the former while visiting Tesuque—and the church destroyed. When Vargas invaded New Mexico in 1692 the Tewa of San Ildefonso acknowledged their allegiance on October 1 without protest; but on June 4, 1696, when several of the Pueblo tribes again rebelled, the San Ildefonso Indians killed their own missionary, Fray Francisco Corbera, as well as Fray Antonio Moreno of Nambé, and burned the church (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 82; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 216, 288; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 217, repr. 1871). Further details of the part which the Tewa played in this revolt are given above. Between 1717 and 1722 a new chapel was erected at the expense of Governor Antonio

Valverde y Cosío. By 1782, the pueblo became a *visita* of Santa Clara. The population of San Ildefonso in 1749 was 422 (including 68 Spaniards); in 1793, 240; in 1805, 175; in 1809, 283; in 1871, 156; in 1940, 146.

Pojoaque. Native name, *P'osuwāge* ("drink water place"—Harrington). The smallest of all the Tewa pueblos, if indeed it can now be regarded as a Tewa village at all, since its insignificant population has become almost completely "Mexicanized" through intermarriage. It is situated on the Rio Pojoaque, about four miles east of the Rio Grande, between San Ildefonso and Nambé, and about sixteen miles northwest of Santa Fe. According to Bandelier, the pueblo was inhabited when Oñate occupied New Mexico in 1598. It is not mentioned even as a *visita* by Vetancurt at the close of the revolt of 1680, but its inhabitants participated in that uprising, after which it was abandoned, but was reestablished by Governor Cuerdo y Valdés in 1706, with five families, under the name Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Pojoaque. It was known as San Francisco Pojoaque in 1749, when it was a *visita* of Nambé, and it evidently remained such until 1782 when it again had a resident priest who ministered also to Nambé and Tesuque. The population of Pojoaque in 1712 was 79; in 1788, 368 (including its *visitas*?); in 1793, 53; in 1798, 79. From the date last mentioned the population gradually declined, but an Indian population of 23 was officially attributed to it in 1940, although it is generally regarded as a "Mexican" village.

Nambé (from *Nambe'e*, "roundish earth," or *Nambe'oñwi*, "pueblo of the roundish earth," according to Harrington). Situated on the same stream as Pojoaque, which is named Rio Nambé higher up. The first reference to a mission at Nambé is in the year 1613. At that time its friar was Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva, who came to New Mexico in 1612, and who continued to serve there until 1628 at least. The date of his death, if he died in New Mexico, or of the end of his service at Nambé, is not known, but it may have been between 1633 and 1635. In the latter year Fray Andrés Suárez, who had been at Pecos up to 1633, was guardian at Nambé, and he continued to serve there until 1647, the year in which he is last mentioned, or longer. Also at Nambé were Fray Antonio de Ibarra in 1662, Fray Felipe Rodríguez in 1664, and Fray Juan de Zamorano in 1672.

In the year 1641, approximately, Nambé contained a church with Cuyamungue as a *visita* and a population of 300. In 1680, it had a resident missionary, Fray Tomás de Torres, who ministered also to the two dependent missions of Jacona and Cuyamungue. The Nambé population of 600 at that time probably included these two *visitas*. Fray Tomás was killed and the church burned on August 10 of the year named. On June 4, 1696, when the Pueblos again revolted, their missionary, Fray Antonio Moreno, was killed at San Ildefonso while visiting Fray Francisco Corbera, who also was murdered. In 1749, Nambé had Pojoaque as a *visita*, the combined population of the two towns being 350; in 1760, the population of Nambé was 204; in 1793, 155; in 1798, 178; in 1805, 143, since which time it has steadily declined, largely on account of executions for witchcraft. The population in 1910 was 88; in 1940, 134.

Tesuque (said by Harrington to be probably the Spanish corruption of *Tatunge*, or *Tatunge'oñwe*, "pueblo down at the dry spotted place,"

which in turn the Tewa have corrupted to *Tetsuge*). The southernmost of the Tewa pueblos, situated eight miles north of Santa Fe. It was the seat of the mission of San Lorenzo, possibly established by Benavides, and had 170 inhabitants in c. 1641 (when it was a *visita* of Santa Fe) and 200 in the year 1680 who were ministered to by Fray Juan Bautista Pio, who was murdered on August 10, when the church was destroyed. The name of the mission seems to have been changed to San Diego after the revolt, probably because the date of the uprising (August 10) was the day of San Lorenzo. The pueblo contained 507 Indians in 1749, and 232 in 1760, when it became a *visita* of Santa Fe. In 1782, it was a *visita* of Pojoaque. In 1793, it had 138 inhabitants, and 155 five years later. It has steadily declined in numbers since 1809, although the population of 77 in 1910 increased to 139 in 1938 and to 148 in 1944.

Cuyamunge ("pueblo ruin where they threw down the stones"—Harrington). This pueblo is situated eight miles southeast of Nambé and about three miles from the mouth of the Rio Tesuque. It was never of great importance in point of population; it was a *visita* of Nambé in c. 1641, and in 1680 participated with the other Tewa pueblos in the revolt against the Spaniards, and was finally abandoned in 1696. Three years later the site of the village was granted to Alonzo Real de Aguilar, and in 1731 to Bernardo de Sena. (See Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 317, repr. 1871; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 85; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, p. 233.) For the part taken by Cuyamunge in the Pueblo revolt, see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*; Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, I, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, 5, 9.

Jacona. Native name *Sákonā*, meaning "at the tobacco barranca," according to Harrington. On the Rio Pojoaque, between Pojoaque and San Ildefonso. Its history is practically identical with that of Cuyamunge, and it was abandoned in the same year. In 1702, it became the property of Ignacio de Roybal (Bandelier, *op. cit.*). The name was often spelled Xacona, suggesting that the initial letter may have been pronounced like *sh* or German *ch*.

Hano. From the Hopi *Hánomuh*, applied on account of the mode of hairdressing employed (Mindeleff, in *Eighth Annual Report*, the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 36-37). The easternmost village of the Tusayán province of northeastern Arizona, the other eight pueblos of the group being occupied by the Hopi, who belong to the Shoshonean, not the Tanoan, linguistic stock. The pueblo is of comparatively modern origin, and although the date of its settlement by the Tewa (possibly with some Tano) is uncertain, it was founded by Indians from a pueblo called Tsanwári between Chimayo and Santa Cruz, New Mexico, who were dispersed by the rebellion of 1696 and were later invited by the Hopi to join them in the defense of their mesa towns against predatory tribes from the north (see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 371; Fewkes, in *Seventeenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. II, p. 636; Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvi, p. 263).

Although largely intermarried with the Hopi, the Tewa of Hano preserve their language and some of their original ceremonies. The population of the pueblo was 110 families in 1782, according to Morfi (cited by Fewkes, *op. cit.*). It now numbers about 200. The pueblo is often im-

properly called Tewa, and following this misapprehension writers have applied to it practically all the forms of the name used to designate the Tewa group of pueblos in New Mexico. For a list of relatively recent publications on the Tewa, see Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, New Haven, 1941.

23. Benavides is correct in his statement concerning the diverse languages of New Mexico. The Piman tribes of southern Arizona and northern Sonora, and the various Shoshonean groups (Bannock, Shoshoni, Ute, Paiute, several tribes of southern California, the Hopi, Comanche, and others) are linguistically related to the Nahuatlán of Mexico. The Pueblos of New Mexico are divided into the Tanoan (Tano, Tewa, Tiwa, and Towá, the last of these represented by Jemez-Pecos), Queres or Keres, and Zúñi tongues. The Tanoan likewise are affiliated with Nahuatlán, Kiowan, and Keresan. (See Harrington, "An Introductory Paper on the Tiwa Language, Dialect of Taos, New Mexico," *American Anthropologist*, XII, pp. 12-48.)

24. There is no evidence that the warriors and sorcerers (medicine-men, he means) were ever at enmity; on the contrary, there was and is perfect amity between these classes, and indeed the warrior societies of old had a strong religious as well as a military function. Benavides ascribes certain Mexican Indian customs and beliefs to those of New Mexico.

25. From time immemorial, the Pueblo Indians have offered sacred cornmeal to their dieties; indeed, so general is the custom even to this day that it may be said that there is no ceremony of which it does not form a part. The Sun Priest (Pékwín) of Zúñi mixed ground abalone shell with his sacred meal in greeting the morning sun, "because it contains all the colors of the sun."

26. Plumed prayer-sticks are here referred to, different feathers being attached for different purposes. Turkeys were raised in large numbers by all of the Pueblo Indians from prehistoric times, as witness the numerous references to them by the earliest Spanish explorers of the Southwest and the fact that great numbers of turkey remains have been found in ruins of prehistoric pueblos, as well as remains of the pens in which they were confined. These birds are still kept for their feathers by some of the Pueblos.

27. This custom has not yet died out completely. In the Zúñi country, for example, the Indians often cast a stone on a pile, sometimes in a cleft in a large rock, at the beginning of a steep trail, in the belief that by so doing they will avoid weariness.

28. Fire is still venerated, naturally enough. The Zúñi have a Little Fire God (Shúlawitsi), and much attention is paid to the winter solstice when no fire is permitted to burn outdoors. Fire ceremonies, at which the new fire is kindled, are still observed by Zúñi and Hopi. On the so-called perpetual fire once maintained at Pecos, consult Curtis, *North American Indian*, XVII, 20-21. See paragraph xxxviii, note 101 below.

29. This reminds one of the destruction in 1562, by Bishop Landa, of some 5,000 Maya idols, together with twenty-seven hieroglyphic rolls because they were "works of the devil." See his *Yucatan Before and After*

the Conquest, translated by William Gates, p. iii; Tozzer, *Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, pp. 77-78, 108, 110; Scholes and Adams, *Don Diego Quijada, Alcalde Mayor de Yucatán*, 1, *passim*. The "idols" referred to by Benavides were possibly kachina "dolls" of wood.

30. A name by which the yucca was commonly known to the Spaniards. There were no true palms in New Mexico. Species of yucca were used for many purposes—their spiky leaves afforded excellent fiber and cordage, they were split for weaving into basketry, and, chewed at the ends, were and still are used as paint-brushes; the fruit is conserved for winter use by some of the Indians, and the macerated roots are employed as soap (amole).

31. The author here endeavors to describe the initiation of a candidate for membership in one of the secret orders or societies, such as the Priesthood of the Bow (Ap'ihlanshiwani) of the Zuñi tribe. One of the tests of endurance was to compel the initiate to sit naked all day in the broiling sun on a large anthill, where he must submit to the stinging bites of the maddened insects without a murmur.

32. This account well describes the simple marriage custom of the Pueblo Indians, which still persists except where missionary influence has resulted in marriages according to the Christian rite. The Pueblo Indians follow the matriarchal system; the children belong to the clan of the mother. Property rights of women are well defined; they own the houses and all domestic equipment. With the advance of civilization, these customs will in time be superseded by those of the whites.

33. Benavides here shows more or less familiarity with the native customs. With respect to the government of the Pueblos, however, as presented by our author, it should be remembered that he refers only to the civil officials who are elected or appointed from year to year by the native priesthood, for all of these tribes were and still are theocracies. The earliest Spanish explorers found it impossible to negotiate officially with any of the Pueblo tribes for this reason; but the difficulty was finally overcome in 1590 by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa who wisely instituted a republican form of government among them, but, of course, for civil purposes only, and this has been maintained to this day, except among the Hopi.

34. Compare note 3.

35. The reference is to the Narváez expedition, shipwrecked on the Texas coast of the Gulf of Mexico in 1528, and to the journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions across the continent, arriving in Mexico in 1536. For a good popular account, see Lummis, *The Spanish Pioneers*; for the narrative itself, see *The Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, translated by Fanny Bandelier, and *The Narrative of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1871 (new edition, edited by F. W. Hodge, New York, 1907), from which the following extract is made: "In the town where the emeralds were presented to us the people gave Dorantes over six hundred open hearts of deer. They ever keep a good supply of them for food, and we called the place Pueblo de los Corazones. It is the entrance into many provinces on the South Sea. They who go to look for them, and do not enter there, will be lost" (p. 108 of the 1907 edition). Smith, the translator,

identifies Corazones with "Tekora," after Padre Francisco Javier Alegre's identification with "Yecora," but these are evidently errors, as neither of the two settlements named Yecora (one a Nevome, the other an Opatá village) was on the Río Sonora or "Señora." The present annotator has arrayed sufficient evidence, it is believed, to establish the location of Corazones at or near the present Ures. The Memorial of 1630 is the only known writing to give the definite size of Corazones at so early a period. See also Hallenbeck, *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, The Journey and Route of the First European to cross the Continent of North America, 1534-1536*.

36. Benavides is greatly confused with respect to Fray Marcos de Niza. See Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*; Winship, *Coronado Expedition*; Baldwin, "Fray Marcos de Niza's Relación," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.* 1, 1926; Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*; Wagner, "Fray Marcos de Niza," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.* ix, 1934; Hodge, *History of Hāwīkūh*.

37. This description of the "Valley of Señora" (*i. e.*, the present Sonora valley in the Mexican state of the same name), as given in the Memorial of 1630 and in the present revision, does not coincide with the narratives of Coronado's companions. Castañeda gives the distance as 150 leagues from Culiacán to Señora valley, or 300 leagues ("perhaps 10 more or less") from Culiacán to Cibola (Zufi), in which latter figure the *Relación Pos-trera de Sivola* agrees. The *Traslado de las Nuevas* gives "350 long leagues"; the *Relación del Suceso* says 150 leagues from Culiacán to Corazones, and the same distance from the latter to Cibola, while Señora valley was 10 leagues beyond Corazones valley. In another place, however, this document asserts that it is 240 leagues from Culiacán to Cibola. Whence the Memorial's notion of 80 leagues from Chametla to Señora valley was derived it is difficult to discover. As the route from Culiacán to Señora valley approximated 150 leagues, while Chametla was 60 or 70 leagues still farther away, the Memorial's figure is only about a third of the actual distance traveled between the points named by it. As to the length of Señora valley, the early authorities disagree, because the actual valley of the Río Sonora was divided by the chroniclers into Corazones, Señora, and Suya valleys, which in all probability were along one and the same stream—the Río Sonora. Jaramillo, for example, says that Señora valley "continues for 6 or 7 leagues, a little more or less." The Memorial's statement of the actual length, 60 leagues, is not far out of the way.

38. This great pueblo of Agastán (if it ever existed) is not identifiable with any settlement known to history. The valley of the Sonora was inhabited by the Opatá, a Piman tribe, one of whose villages was Ures (Corazones). Six leagues upstream would not bring one to any known town of importance, during the colonization period at least. Suaqui and Babiácora were the first noteworthy settlements of the Opatá going up the valley from Ures, but these lay at a considerable distance. The name *Agastán* has a suspiciously Aztec sound. It was not uncommon for the early Spaniards to apply both Mexican (Nahua) and Spanish names to Indian settlements in our Southwest.

39. See note 15. Benavides does not here write from personal knowledge, but from information, not entirely accurate, derived from accounts of the Coronado expedition and incorporated in the Memorial of 1630 at its close.

40. See paragraph xxvii. Benavides did not seem to realize that his Tioas and Tihues (Tigua or Tiwa) were the same people; this was because this earlier part of his narrative (which formed the concluding sections of the Memorial of 1630) was compiled from other sources. It will be noted that the paragraph following that bearing the caption "Tihues" in the Memorial of 1630 is omitted from this revised version.

41. It will be noted that in paragraph iv, Benavides states that these Indians have only one wife, yet in paragraph xxxvi he asserts that in Taos "they had a custom which the others had not, that is, a man had as many wives as he could support." The Pueblos were monogamists.

42. This is "confusion worse confounded," as the Rio Tisón, or Tizón, was not in the Pueblo country of New Mexico, but was the Rio Colorado of Coronado's chroniclers and was so called, it was said, because the Yuma Indians carried torches (*tizonas*) to warm themselves.

43. The "Marvelous Peñol" is of course the Acoma peñol (see paragraph xxxvii, note 97). Aside from the usual exaggeration in the number of houses and the population, the description is not much overdrawn. Castañeda was the first to speak of the cultivation of the summit of the Acoma mesa and to call attention to its remarkable natural water supply. The height of the peñol is not nearly a thousand *estados* (1800 feet), as here asserted, but 357 feet. In regard to the trail to the summit, there are, and doubtless were, several trails, all difficult and more or less dangerous. In all probability the text refers to the Camino del Padre, so called, it is said, after Fray Juan Ramírez, the "Apostle of Acoma." Consult Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, p. 141; Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvi; White, Leslie A., *The Acoma Indians*; Villagrà, *History of New Mexico*.

44. The province of Tusayán, or "Tuzayán," was the Hopi villages of the present northeastern Arizona. There is no reason to suppose that the number of towns in Benavides' time was any greater than when the province was visited by Tovar in 1540, when they numbered seven; indeed, it is now evident that one of the Hopi villages, identified with Kawaika, or Kawaiokúh, was destroyed by Coronado's men under Tovar and Padilla in 1540, as mentioned by Luxán of the Espejo expedition in 1583. See Luxán, *Expedition into New Mexico*, 1582-83, pp. 95-96. See also note 105, below.

45. Cicuío, or Cicuyo, is the Cicuic, Cicuique, and Cicuye of the Coronado narratives, concerning which see Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, above cited. This pueblo was Pecos. The Memorial's reference to the number of houses is, as usual, exaggerated. See paragraph xxxi and note 85, below. Bandelier conducted researches among the ruins of this pueblo as early as 1880, for which consult his "A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos"; while in 1915-29 Dr. A. V. Kidder carried on intensive excavations for Phillips Academy, the results of which have appeared in several important volumes issued by the Yale University Press.

46. Our author is here greatly confused, as if his "Western Quivira" were derived from maps of the period, on which the Quivira of Coronado was placed on maps of North America wherever the cartographers of the

period could find space. It should be noted that this "Western Quivira" was not mentioned in the Memorial of 1630. The other Quivira in the east is probably an illusive reference to the so-called "Gran Quivira," which will be mentioned later. The second paragraph under this caption, and indeed the entire section, is so involved and inaccurate as to be worthless.

47. This entire reference to Fray Marcos de Niza is erroneous. See note 36 and the authorities therein cited. Fray Marcos did not suffer martyrdom here or elsewhere, but returned to Mexico where he died in 1558.

48. These two friars, members of the Coronado expedition of 1540-42, decided to remain when the army departed from New Mexico, Fray Juan de Padilla returning to the Wichita Indians of the province of Quivira in the present Arkansas valley of Kansas, where he was murdered by the Indians. Fray Juan de la Cruz was left at Tiguex, a former Tigua pueblo, near the present Bernalillo, New Mexico, where he was killed on November 25 or 30, 1542. A lay brother, Fray Luis Descalona, or Ubeda, went to Pecos (Cicuye), and as he was never afterward heard from, there is no doubt that he was murdered by the Indians of that pueblo. There is little wonder that these missionaries suffered martyrdom in view of the atrocities committed while the soldiers of Coronado's army were in New Mexico. See Bandelier, "Fray Juan de Padilla, the First Catholic Missionary Martyr in Eastern Kansas, 1542," in *American Catholic Quar. Rev.*, xv, pp. 551-565; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 9-12.

49. This was the expedition commonly known as the Rodríguez, or the Rodríguez-Chamuscado, expedition to New Mexico in 1581-82. Rodríguez is called Ruiz by Benavides; Chamuscado was in charge of the escort of eight soldiers and sixteen Indian servants, but died before his party returned to Santa Bárbara in Chihuahua. For full information, based on the original documents, see Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, i, pp. 265-291; Hammond and Rey, "The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, 1581-82," *ibid.*, ii, pp. 239-268, 334-362; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, pp. 135-160; Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*; Hammond and Rey, *Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America*; Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Río Grande Pueblos, New Mexico," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, v, *passim*. See paragraphs xviii-xx, *infra*, and note 75.

50. For an excellent account of the history of these tribes and of their final absorption, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. i, p. 79 *et. seq.*, and pt. ii, chap. xiv. The Tarahumare and Tepehuane, both Piman tribes, are the only ones still known by these names. With the exception of the Suma, they bore no relation to New Mexico.

51. See note 4.

52. The three Franciscans herein mentioned did not miraculously escape, for Fray Juan de Santa María was killed when he set out to return to Mexico. Fathers Rodríguez and López, settling at Puaray, one of the

Tigua ("Tiguex") pueblos near the present Bernalillo, were murdered by the Indians after Chamuscado's departure for Santa Bárbara. See *infra*, paragraphs XVIII-XX.

53. The aboriginal name of the Mansos is unknown, the terms Manso, Gorreta, and Lano having been applied by the Spaniards from the earliest period of their contact. Benavides speaks of the name Manso as though it had been applied first during his own residence in New Mexico, whereas it was employed by Juan de Oñate, the first colonizer of New Mexico, while among them, May 4, 1598. Oñate says: "Sus primeras palabras fueron *manxo, manxo, micos, micos*, por decir mansos y amigos" (*Doc. de Indias*, xvi, p. 243). Vetancurt (*Menologio*, pp. 24, 429) makes a statement concerning the origin of the name which is more amusing than true: "Los Mansos, nacion bárbara que desacreditaba con su ferocidad el título: llamáronse así por el ilustrísimo señor obispo de Nicaragua fray Tomás Manso." (!) See also Appendix xxv.

This venerable Fray Tomás Manso was of noble ancestry, the son of Sebastián Manso and Doña María Méndez; born in Abarca, principality of Asturias, Spain; professed in the Convent of San Francisco of Mexico, July 12, 1624. He was guardian of various monasteries, including those of Redonda and Tezcuco; later he became definitor, and after entering the mission field of New Mexico under Estevan de Perea, the new custodian, in 1629, he assumed a position of great influence during the period of contention between church and state, being appointed procurator general under Perea after the death of Father Fray Martín González, which office he retained for twenty-five years. On January 23, 1655, he became father provincial of the Provincia del Santo Evangelio, succeeding Father Fray Francisco de Guzmán; he held this office for only eight months, when he became bishop of Nicaragua, where he died (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 429, 479).

According to Scholes, Father Manso succeeded Father Covarrubias as custodian of New Mexico, a burden he carried in addition to his duties as administrator of the mission supply service. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 186.

Regarding the habitat and the mode of life of the Mansos, Benavides sheds as much light as any of the early authorities, and indeed it is in these respects that the Memorial is of such great value to students today. According to Bandelier, their mode of government and system of kinship was the same as that of the Pueblos, from whom their rites and traditions prove them to have come. It seems that soon after Benavides' time the Mansos lived farther up the Rio Grande, about the vicinity of Las Cruces, whence they were taken to El Paso by the venerable Fray García de San Francisco (another of Perea's companions who had long served among the Piro) in 1659, when the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos was established. When Bandelier visited the remnant of the tribe associated with the Mexicanized Tigua and Piro in Isleta del Sur and Senecú, below El Paso, it was found to be reduced to about a dozen families, and although they had entirely lost their language, the survivors maintained a shadow of their former tribal organization and a few of their rites and dances, which were similar to those of some of the New Mexican pueblos. See Bandelier in *Fifth Report of the Archaeological*

Institute of America, p. 50, and his *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 86, 165-168, 248, and pt. II, pp. 348-349; Anne E. Hughes, *The Beginning of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*.

54. The author evidently refers here to the Rodríguez (Ruiz) expedition of 1581-82, the personnel of which consisted of three friars, eight soldiers, and sixteen Indian servants. See note 49, above.

55. There seems to be no doubt that this San Pedro (which is not to be confused with the Tigua pueblo on the Rio Grande to which the same saint name was applied in the Gallegos account of the Rodríguez expedition) was a Tano village near the mining camp of San Pedro, about 40 miles in an airline southwest of Santa Fe and 18 miles southeast of Puaray near Bernalillo. This pueblo was known as Paáko by the Tano and was mentioned under the form Paaco in the Oñate documents of 1598. For the departure of Fray Juan de Santa María from the other friars against their protest, to return to Mexico by another route, and his murder at a pueblo which the Spaniards called Malpartida, identified with San Marcos, see Mecham, and Hammond and Rey, cited in note 49, above. It was for the purpose of learning the fate of Fathers Rodríguez and López that the Espejo expedition was organized and departed for New Mexico in 1582. See also Tichy, "The Excavation of Paa-ko Ruin," *El Palacio*, XLII, pp. 109-115. (No remains of a church were revealed, but the excavations in 1935-37 were not completed.)

56. The *macana* in this case was probably a spherical stone attached with a thong to a wooden handle. The *macana*, or *maquahuítl*, of the Aztecs consisted of a short wooden club in the edges of which were set obsidian blades—a deadly weapon for hand-to-hand combat. This implement is often illustrated in Mexican codices, but, so far as known, not a single specimen has survived.

57. The sources of information respecting the three friars who suffered martyrdom at this time are the same for all. In addition to the authorities cited in notes 49 and 55, see Vetancurt, Agustín de, *Menologio Franciscano*.

58. Ruíz is the same friar as Rodríguez. For the pueblo of Puaray, where the fathers were first stationed, see note 49.

59. A Tigua pueblo situated about 5½ miles above Bernalillo, on the Mesa del Cangelon, according to Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, p. 227.

60. Sandia, a Tiwa pueblo that still exists. See paragraph XXVII, and note 75, below.

61. The reference is to the friars who accompanied Oñate's colonists in 1598, not 1596, and who made the first attempts to establish permanent missions among the Pueblo Indians. See note 68, below.

62. Namely, Fray Juan de Padilla, Fray Juan de la Cruz, and Fray Luis Descalona, de Escalona, or de Ubeda, who were members of the Coronado expedition (see note 48, above), and the three friars just mentioned by Benavides. Whether or not there actually was a Fray Juan de la Cruz on the Coronado expedition has been questioned. See, for example, Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos," *N. Mex.*

Hist. Rev., v, pp. 174-185; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 9-12.

63. For the Oñate expedition, see G. P. Hammond's detailed account in his *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*; Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, I, pp. 193-483. These works cite everything of importance pertaining to the noted expedition and colonization by Oñate.

64. For this episode, see Villagrà, *History of New Mexico*.

65. This is the Tewa, "Teoas," pueblo of San Juan. See note 22, above.

66. For a more modern story concerning an especially violent rain-storm following a drought at San Juan, see Applegate, *Indian Stories from the Pueblos*, pp. 45-48.

67. While various New Mexico mission church records (births, confirmations, marriages, deaths) still exist, there is little likelihood that any of the earlier ones survived the Pueblo rebellion of 1680. The Zuñi have a tradition that all the early Spanish records were used as cigarette wrappers after the Spaniards were driven from New Mexico; in other pueblos they were destroyed, together with other relics of Spanish influence.

68. The name of Fray Alonso Martínez, the commissary, was evidently overlooked; accompanied by Father Salazar and Fray Pedro de Vergara, he returned to Mexico for more friars in 1599, where he remained; he was succeeded by Fray Juan de Escalona, who went to New Mexico in 1600; but in the meantime, Fray Francisco de San Miguel seems to have served as commissary (Scholes and Bloom in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1944, p. 321).

Fray Francisco de San Miguel was given the care of Pecos, the Vaquero Apache of the plains, the pueblos of the Gran Salina east of the Rio Grande, the "Xumanas ó rayados," and others.

To Fray Francisco de Zamora were entrusted the inhabitants of Picuris province, the Apache and Navaho of the "Snowy mountains" of northern New Mexico, and Taos and other pueblos in that area. Fray Francisco returned to Mexico in 1601.

Fray Juan de Rosas was assigned to the province of the Cheres (Queres or Keres), with the pueblos of Castixe (Sant Phelipe or Comitze). Santo Domingo, Cochiti, San Marcos, San Cristóbal, Santa Ana (Galisteo), Quipacha, and others. These were not all Keres (Cheres) pueblos, however. Fray Juan died in New Mexico before March, 1601, or returned to Mexico in that year.

Fray Alonzo de Lugo was assigned the Jemez pueblos and certain nomadic tribes to the westward, evidently Navaho. He returned to Mexico in 1601. See note 90, below.

Fray Andrés Corchado was given the province of the Tzias (Sia), the pueblos of Tamaya (Santa Ana), the provinces of Acoma, Zuñi, and Mohoce (Hopi). He returned to Mexico in 1601, while Oñate was exploring the plains, or died in New Mexico before that date.

Fray Juan Claros, the province of the Tiwa (Tigua, "Tioas"), including Napeya (Sandia), Puaray, Mohoqui (Hopi), Qualacu, Teypama, "y ultimamente Tzenaquel de la mesilla," with many others. The last three were Piro pueblos. Father Claros also returned to Mexico in 1601, or died in New Mexico before that time.

Fray Cristóbal de Salazar was given the important mission of the Tewa, among whom Oñate was already settled. Benavides (paragraph xxiii) states that "the Spaniards requested him for the administration of the holy sacraments to them in the town of San Juan de los Caballeros." Salazar was Oñate's cousin; he died on his way back to Mexico in 1599 to procure more friars.

In addition to these friars there were two lay brothers, Pedro de Vergara and Juan de San Buenaventura. Three brothers are also named: Martín, Francisco, and Juan de Dios, the last of whom was settled at Pecos.

69. Father Escobar went to New Mexico, probably in 1603; in October, 1604, he accompanied Oñate on the journey of the governor to the Gulf of California. He evidently served as commissary until 1609, succeeding Velasco, in 1604, who served as commissary for a year after Escalona; he died in New Mexico. See Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," *Catholic Historical Review*, v. For Escalona, see Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 207, and *Teatro Mexicano*, I, p. 263; Zárate Salmerón, "Relación," in *Land of Sunshine*, XII, p. 185; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 268-280; Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, p. 678; Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*, p. 93; Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate*; Scholes, "Early Ecclesiastical History."

70. See note 68, above. This lay brother seems to have returned to Mexico in 1601, but evidently again went to New Mexico, where he was still living in 1622. See Zárate Salmerón, *Relación*, cited in note 69; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 124, 151, 154; Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate*.

71. Instruction in church music was the common practice of the Franciscans in their missionary work among the Indians. Fray Roque de Figueredo, of the Háwikuh mission of Concepción, was especially accomplished in this regard. See Scholes, "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions"; Hodge, *History of Háwikuh*, pp. 82, 89, 125-126; Spell, Lota M., "Music Teaching in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," in *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, II, pp. 27-36. See also *infra*, paragraphs xxiv, xxvii, xxviii, xxx, xxxvi, XLIII, LI, LII. Consult the index, s.-v. Music.

72. Piro. These formed one of the principal groups of Pueblo tribes in Benavides' time and for half a century later. They comprised two divisions—one occupying the Rio Grande valley from the present San Marcial, Socorro county, northward to within about fifty miles of Albuquerque, where the country of the Rio Grande Tigua, or the "Province of Tigues" of Coronado, commenced. This Piro area was comprised within Oñate's "province of Atzigues" (the name of this province appears as "Atripuy" in *Col. de Doc. Inéd.*, xvi, p. 114, evidently due to miscopying or misprinting) which consisted of forty-two settlements on both sides of

the Rio Grande, most of them now known only by name. The other Piro division, sometimes called Tompiro (see note 79) and Salineros, occupied an area eastward from the Rio Grande and its mountain wall, in the vicinity of the salt lagoons—the Salinas—where they adjoined the eastern group of Tigua settlements on the south. The Piro were visited possibly by members of Coronado's expedition (1540-41), as well as by Chamuscado (1581), by Espejo (1583), who found them in ten villages along the river and in others near by, by Oñate (1598), and other early explorers.

The causes which led to the destruction of several of the Piro villages in 1675, according to Bandelier, had already been at work before Benavides commenced his missionary labors in New Mexico, since, in the Memorial of 1630, he says that the Piro settlements began with Senecú (the site of the present hamlet of San Antonio, between San Marcial and Socorro) and ended with Sevilleta (at or near the present La Joya), whereas in 1598 the first Piro villages reached by Oñate in journeying upstream were Qualacú and Tzenaquel (misprinted "Trenaquel" in *ibid.*, p. 115) de la mesilla, the latter on or near the site of San Marcial, the former on the opposite or eastern side of the river; indeed, Benavides speaks of the depopulation of Sevilleta, the burning of the village, and of his gathering the scattered natives and settling them anew. As already intimated, the fourteen or more Piro villages of the Rio Grande in 1630 (Bandelier believes that at least three of these were Tigua pueblos) were reduced to Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, by the beginning of the Pueblo rebellion half a century later; but this reduction in number, we are informed by Bandelier, "was due not only to the efforts of the missionaries to gather their flocks into larger pueblos, but also to the danger to which these Indians were exposed from the Apaches of the 'Perrillo' and the 'Gila.'" In other words, a "policy of concentration" had been adopted by the missionaries more than two hundred and fifty years before a similar plan (but not always with a beneficent object) was put in operation by our governmental authorities, the cost of which, in both lives and money, is almost beyond reckoning. The names of the former villages of the Rio Grande Piro, so far as known with certainty, are: (1) Alamillo, about 12 miles north of Socorro; native name unknown. (2) Qualacú; (3) San Pascual, native name also unknown; opposite San Antonio, which was the site of Senecú; (4) Senecú; (5) Sevilleta (native name Seelocú, according to Benavides); (6) Socorro, or Pilabó (Pilopue of Oñate), on the site of the present Socorro; (7) Teypana or Teypama, nearly opposite Socorro; (8) Tzenaquel de la mesilla.

The first missionary work among the Piro of the Rio Grande was in charge of Fray Juan Claros, who went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598 and ministered to Qualacú, Teypama, and Tzenaquel (of the province of "Atzigues"), as well as to some Tigua and other villages. It is extremely doubtful, however, if any active steps were taken at this early date toward the erection of churches. Fray Juan returned to Mexico with other friars while Oñate was in Quivira in 1601 or had died by that time. (See our note 68 and Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology.") The date of the beginning of the Piro conversion is given by Benavides as 1626; it is therefore probable that the missionary labors of Fray Martín de Arvide, who was assigned by Benavides to the conversion

of the Piro after a rebellion by the Jemez compelled his retirement from that field in 1626, were those to which the custodian alludes. Fray Martín built a church and convent in one of the Piro pueblos, according also to Benavides, but which one is not known. As Benavides spent some time in New Mexico after the arrival of Perea, the new custodian, in the spring of 1629, it may be assumed that the actual building of churches and convents at San Antonio de Senecú, Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Pilabó, and San Luis Obispo de Sevilleta, was done by the missionaries whom Perea brought, unless we may regard one of these as having been founded by Arvide. When Benavides states that he made certain conversions or erected certain churches, he really means that the labors were performed under his custodianship, or until the arrival of Perea. As Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 248) says, "Benavides . . . attributes the establishment of the missions to himself, which is true in the sense that he, as Custodian, directed them." About 1641, the Socorro mission had a church and convent and served two *visitas*, Alamillo and Sevilleta; the population was 400. In 1666, it had one priest, who still served the two *visitas*. Senecú is not mentioned in the list of missions of 1641, but in 1666 the mission (San Antonio Glorioso) had two friars. (Scholes, "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions," in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, iv, pp. 45-58.)

The name Socorro was applied to two distinct Piro pueblos: first by Juan de Oñate in 1598 to the village of Teypana or Teypama, three leagues above the present town of Socorro (see *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xvi, p. 251), and now by Benavides to the village of Pilabó (or Pilopue, as the Oñate documents record it), where Socorro now stands. Oñate remarks that he applied the name Socorro because the natives received him kindly and supplied him with much-needed corn: "Dormimos frontero de Taypama, pueblo que llamamos del Socorro porque nos dió mucho maíz"; etc. Regarding the origin of the name, Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 309) says that it was given "porque á la venida de los carros, ántes de la fundacion de Guadalupe [at El Paso del Norte], se les llevaba socorro de pan y otras cosas á los caminantes." At the time of the rebellion of 1680, most of the 600 inhabitants of the pueblo followed Governor Otermín to El Paso, building a new village below that place and giving to it the name of their former pueblo, but now sometimes distinguished as Socorro del Sur, "Socorro of the South." See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 86; pt. II, p. 241 *et seq.*; Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*, 2 vols.; this work supersedes his earlier articles in the *Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association.

According to Bandelier, the name Senecú is probably a corruption of the aboriginal appellation Tzenocué. The Piro pueblo of Senecú was situated on the western bank of the Río Grande, at the site of the present village of San Antonio—a survival of the name applied to the mission in 1629 by Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray García de San Francisco, its founders. Regarding the fate of the village, Bandelier, on the authority of early documents, says: "On the 23d of January, 1675, [the Apache] surprised the pueblo of Senecú, killed its missionary, Fray Alonzo Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted" (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 250). At the rebellion of the

Pueblos against Spanish authority in 1680, the inhabitants of Socorro fled to El Paso with Governor Otermín, and with some Tigua and other Piro were afterward established in the pueblo of Senecú del Sur, below El Paso, in Chihuahua. This settlement still exists, but its inhabitants are largely "Mexicanized" and their native dialects are virtually extinct. The remains of Fray García de San Francisco were buried at Senecú, New Mexico. See Bandelier, *op. cit.*, and Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 309.

The area occupied by the eastern branch of the Piro, or Tompiro (see note 79), extended from the pueblo of Abó southeastward to, but not including, the pueblo of Tabirá (commonly but improperly called "Gran Quivira"), a distance of about 25 miles. The habitat of the eastern Piro was even more desert in character than that of the eastern Tigua which bounded it on the north, for the Arroyo de Abó, on which the pueblo of Abó was situated, was the only perennial stream in the region, the inhabitants of Tabirá and Tenabó depending entirely on the storage of rain for their water supply. In addition to the three pueblos named, it is not improbable that the now ruined villages known by the Spanish names of Pueblo Blanco, Pueblo Colorado, and Pueblo de la Parida, were among the eleven inhabited settlements of the Salinas seen by Chamuscado in 1581. Oñate, in 1598, also visited the pueblos of the Salinas, and in the same year the first missionary labors were begun in this area by Fray Francisco de San Miguel, a chaplain of Oñate's army (see note 68). The headquarters of this fraile were at Pecos, but he ministered also to the Indians of the Tigua pueblo of Quarái and to the inhabitants of the Piro villages above mentioned. The first actual mission among the Piro of the Salinas was established some time between 1622 and 1626 at San Gregorio de Abó, probably also at Tenabó, as well as at Tabirá, but ere the massive-walled churches and convents were completed, the village-dwellers of both the Salinas and the Rio Grande suffered so seriously from the ever-turbulent Apache, that every village of the Salinas was deserted before the Pueblo insurrection of 1680. About 1641, Abó, with 1,580 inhabitants, had a church and convent, with two *visitas*—one for the Jumano, the other Tabirá. It has been supposed that Tabirá was a permanent Piro pueblo, but Scholes and Mera have presented evidence to support their conclusion that this was the "great pueblo of the Jumanos" of Benavides' Memorial of 1630. (See note 134.) It will be observed, however, that in the present revised Memorial Benavides refers to the Jumano pueblo as having been so named by him "because this nation often comes there to trade and barter," not that it was a permanent pueblo of the Jumano. (See Scholes and Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Publication* 523.) This statement was confirmed in 1661 by Fray Nicolás de Freitas, who stated that the Pueblo of Humanas "is the most populous pueblo in those provinces, whither they gather from all sides for trade in antelope skins and corn—that they might live as they like . . ." (Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, p. 159.) For the Tompiro, see paragraph xxix and note 79. For further information concerning the early history of the Piro, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 130, *et seq.*; pt. II, pp. 236-253, 268-292; Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo*, pp. 285-310; Toulouse, J. H., "San Gregorio de Abó Mission," in *El Palacio* XLVII; and especially Scholes and Mera, *op. cit.* On the language of the tribe, see

"The Language of the Piro," by John Russell Bartlett, *American Anthropologist*, XI, pp. 426-433; John P. Harrington, "Notes on the Piro Language," *ibid.*, XI, pp. 563-594. Abó pueblo and mission are now a state monument.

Regarding early missionary labors among the Piro, Scholes, at our invitation, has contributed the following paragraphs:

"The date of the beginning of the conversion of the Piro is given by Benavides as 1626. This is confirmed by contemporary documents, which record that in June (late)- July of 1626 Benavides, accompanied by a group of soldiers, went to the Piro district to convert the Indians. Testimony of the soldiers mentions the fact that they visited Senecú on this occasion and also contains reference to a convent and oratory in Socorro, 'where the friars reside.' This testimony was given after Benavides had returned to the northern part of the Pueblo area and indicates that other friars had apparently accompanied him to the Piro area and had been left there to carry on the work. The contemporary documents also record that Benavides visited the Piro area in the autumn of 1626 and again in the autumn of 1627.

"Benavides himself states that he made a total of nine trips to the Piro district and that in less than a year and a half (that is, prior to the end of 1627) he had put the conversions in good order and had baptized the majority of the people. He also states (in paragraph xxv on the Piro) that he then put Fray Martín de Arvide in charge and that this friar 'brought the conversion and *doctrina* to a high state of perfection and founded there a convent and church.' The foregoing seems to imply that Arvide took charge after the work had been going on for about a year and a half, or toward the end of 1627 or early 1628. Hodge thinks he came from the Jemez area.

"But check Benavides' sketch of Arvide's life in paragraph XLII. Here Benavides refers first to Arvide's labors at Picuris, where the Indians finally rebelled and Arvide had to leave. This must have occurred prior to January, 1625, for Arvide was apparently stationed at Santo Domingo at this time. The next item in Benavides' sketch of Arvide is a brief account of his services among the Piro. And then Benavides says: 'AFTERWARDS I sent him to the Hemes nation,' etc. While serving among the Jemez, Arvide made a journey to the Navaho country, and then, having completed the conversion of the Jemez, 'he departed for the province of the Zipia,' etc. In short, this review of Arvide's life puts the Jemez phase of his services AFTER the Piro phase.

"Now, how to solve the problem? My own ideas are as follow:

"(1) Benavides went to the Piro area in June-July, 1626, visited Senecú and other towns, and got the missionary program under way. He later visited the Piro at various times—may have made the nine trips mentioned—and by the end of the year and a half the missionary program was probably well advanced. But although Benavides took the lead at first and obviously kept in touch with the program and personally assisted at times, it seems likely that the day-to-day work was carried on by one or more friars actually stationed in the Piro district. The reference to the convent and oratory of Socorro, 'where the friars reside,' in testimony of a soldier given in August, 1626, indicates that some sort of permanent base of opera-

tions had already been established at that time. The convent of Socorro is also mentioned in documents of 1627 and 1628, but we have no references to any other convent prior to 1629. We have no reference to the friar or friars at Socorro, but I suspect that Arvide was in charge and that the convent founded by him was the one at Socorro.

"(2) Hodge places Arvide at Jemez in 1626, on basis of the date in the Jemez section of the Memorial, and I admit that the date looks more like 1626 than 1628. Hodge also says that Arvide was probably assigned to the Piro area after a rebellion by the Jemez compelled his retirement from that field. I find no mention in paragraph xxxiv or in paragraph XLII of any rebellion at Jemez in Arvide's time. There had been trouble at Jemez prior to 1626, but that was during the time when Zárate Salmerón was in charge of the Jemez missions. In regard to Arvide, Hodge evidently refers to the trouble at Picuris which forced Arvide to leave this pueblo prior to 1625. But, all this aside, if Arvide went to Jemez in 1626 and was assigned to Piro after being at Jemez for a time, he must also have gone back to Jemez again, for Benavides clearly implies that at the end of his Jemez service he went on the Zipia mission. But Benavides gives no hint that Arvide was at Jemez twice. Moreover, in his sketch of Arvide's life, he specifically states that Arvide was sent to Jemez AFTER he had been among the Piro. Consequently, it is my personal view that the Piro services came first—probably beginning in 1626 and extending perhaps into 1628, and that the convent 'founded' by Arvide was probably Socorro. (Was he the Fray Martín del Espíritu Santo mentioned in Benavides' account of the Xila Apache?) From the Piro area, Arvide was sent to Jemez, probably in 1628, and served there until he obtained permission to go to the Zipias.

"If a 1626 reading for the date in the Jemez section of the revised Memorial is the correct one, then I believe it to be an error. (A '28 reading is not impossible, though I admit it looks more like '26, after comparing it with other numbers in the Memorial.) Benavides' chronology is not always exact—remember that! He dates Father Romero's missions to the Apache de Quinia in 1628, though it was evidently in 1629.

"In 1629, Arteaga, García de San Francisco, and others were assigned to the Piro and Tompiro. Members of this group, especially Arteaga and San Francisco, carried on the conversion of the Piro, and by the time Benavides left New Mexico in 1629 there were three convents: Socorro (mentioned as early as 1626), Senecú, and Sevilleta.

"The Sevilleta convent apparently was not permanent and was probably replaced by one at Alamillo, where Fray Diego López was guardian in 1638. Fray Francisco de Acevedo was guardian of Alamillo in 1659 and Fray Salvador de San Antonio was elected guardian in 1672. At other times Alamillo is recorded as a *visita* of Socorro.

"The convent of Socorro, first mentioned in 1626, is also mentioned in documents of 1627 and 1628. Fray Juan Juárez was guardian in 1638, Fray Benito de la Natividad in 1659-61, and Fray Fernando de Velasco in 1671-72. Fray García de San Francisco was stationed at Senecú for many years—was there in 1638 with Arteaga and was still a *lego* at that time. He probably succeeded Arteaga there (just when he became a priest is not known), and he was also at Senecú in 1659 when Governor López de Mendizábal arrived. On the other hand, because of his long service in

the Piro area and his knowledge of the Piro language, it is likely that at times Fray García also labored at Socorro. Vetancurt stresses the fact that he adorned the temple and sacristy with rich ornaments, etc. It would appear that Vetancurt was mixed up and meant the church at Senecú. But even if Vetancurt is right in the reference to Socorro, I doubt that Fray García should be regarded as the founder of Socorro church.

"As already noted, missionary work at Senecú was begun in the summer of 1626 and there was a convent there when Benavides left New Mexico in 1629. The founder of the convent was probably Fray Antonio de Arteaga, who continued in service there until at least 1638. Fray García de San Francisco was associated with Arteaga during these years. After Arteaga left New Mexico, Fray García apparently took charge of the mission, serving at Senecú until the early 1660's. Other friars who served at Senecú were Fray Diego de Santander (1665), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1667), Fray Nicolás Hurtado (1671-72), and Fray Joseph de Paredes (1672). Fray Ildefonso (or Alonso) Gil de Avila was killed at Socorro in 1675."

73. Fray Martín de Arvide, born in Puerto de San Sebastián, Cantabria; made his vows in the Convento de San Francisco, Mexico, June 2, 1612; went to New Mexico in 1621 and was assigned to Picurís, where he founded a church and convent, and where his life was threatened. Later (in 1628) Benavides (see paragraph XLII) placed Fray Martín in charge of the conversion of the Piro, among whom he founded a church and convent. Learning that the Jemez had deserted their pueblos and were roaming in the mountains, he obtained permission from Benavides, his superior, to reestablish them and to restore peace, which he accomplished, remaining with them from 1626, meanwhile going on a missionary journey to the Navaho. In 1632, he departed for the unknown country of the Zipias, in the present Sonora, Mexico, visiting Fray Francisco de Letrado at Háwikuh, one of the Zuñi villages, en route. Before reaching the Zipias he was slain by treacherous Zuñis, February 27, Letrado having been murdered five days before (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 52-53, 75. See also Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*; Hodge, *History of Háwikuh*; Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*). Benavides' reference to the missionary labors of Arvide among the Piro appears only in Memorial of 1634. See paragraph XLII and note 93, below. For a different interpretation of Arvide's activities, see Scholes' comments on p. 250, above.

74. Benavides here gives the only reference to the native name (Seelocú) of Sevilleta that has ever been recorded. It is not known who established the first mission and convent there, dedicated to San Luis Obispo (Bishop of Toulouse, whose day is August 19), under Benavides' custodianship, unless he did so himself, as he strongly intimates. Sevilleta was the most northerly pueblo of the Piro; it was visited in 1598 by Oñate, who called it Nueva Sevilla, its situation on the east bank of the Rio Grande, at or near old La Joya, bearing a fancied resemblance to that of Sevilla in Spain. (*Discurso de las Jornadas*, pp. 251-252: "Andobimos tres leguas [seven leagues above Socorro] al pueblecillo que llamamos la Nueva Sevilla, por su sitio.") At this time it was a small place, as Oñate indicates; later, as Benavides notes, it was destroyed through intertribal

wars (evidently with the Apache), its inhabitants being scattered among the hills until reassembled by the custodian, who rebuilt the town. Its importance as the seat of a convento-mission did not last long, for in c. 1641 it was a *visita* of Socorro, which had a population of 400, and in 1680 Sevilleta contained only three families, according to Vetancurt, the remainder having joined Otermín in his flight to El Paso. In the following year Otermín found the town abandoned, and it was never reoccupied. Vetancurt, evidently not knowing the real origin of the name of the pueblo, says: "... que por la multitud que se halló de piro tomó el nombre de Sevilleta" (*Crónica*, p. 310). The name, which survives today in the "Cevilleta grant," has been sadly distorted by most of the writers who have mentioned it, for it appears also as Sebollita, Semillete, Seuilleta, Sevillete, Sevilletta, Sibillela, Sibilleta. Even Benavides has it Sivilleta more than once in the text of his Memorial of 1630. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 238 *et seq.*; Scholes in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, IV, pp. 45-58.

75. The "Tioas nation" are the Tigua, or Tiwa, as before mentioned. Benavides often confused the group-names Tigua (Tiwa) and Tewa. (See note 22.) During the earliest historical period this group of Pueblo Indians comprised three geographic divisions: one occupying Taos and Picurís, the most northerly of the New Mexican villages and still inhabited on upper tributaries of the Rio Grande; another in numerous pueblos (forming the province of Tiguex of Coronado) extending from the vicinity of Bernalillo to or below Isleta, which latter village, together with Sandia, is still inhabited; and the third occupying the pueblos of Chililí, Quarái, Tajique, and others whose names are unknown, in the vicinity of the Salinas, east of the Rio Grande, where they adjoined the so-called Tompiro division of the Piro to the south.

At the time of the visit by members of Coronado's force in 1541, Taos and Picurís were separated from the middle group by the Tano, Tewa, and Rio Grande Queres, as they are today, save that the Tano are now extinct as tribes. The southern Rio Grande Tiwa villages numbered from twelve to sixteen, according to various authorities, but early in the Spanish domination these were reduced by consolidation to insure greater security from the predatory Apache and to facilitate missionary labors; so that by 1680, the year of the beginning of the great revolt, the lower Rio Grande Tigua occupied only the pueblos of Puaray (the Tiguex village of the Tiguex province of Coronado, where Juan de la Cruz remained as missionary in 1542 and was killed), Sandia, Alameda, and Isleta, with an estimated population, according to Vetancurt, of 200, 3,000, 300, and 2,000 respectively.

The southern limit of the Rio Grande Tigua settlements in the sixteenth century is not known with certainty, since Oñate visited a new but abandoned pueblo four leagues north of Sevilleta (the last Piro town in Benavides' time), June 24, 1598, naming it Sant Juan Baptista in honor of the day (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, p. 252), and being near the Tigua-Piro area, it is not known to which of the groups it pertained. In 1581, Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, with eight soldiers and sixteen Indian servants, accompanied the missionaries Francisco López, Juan de Santa María, and Agustín Rodríguez, or Ruiz, to the Tigua country, but all three of the Franciscans were killed by the natives late in the same

year. The following year, Antonio de Espejo was dispatched with fourteen followers, but on his approach the Indians of Puaray, to whom he attributed the death of at least Fray Francisco López, fled for fear of vengeance, and although their fears were afterward allayed, Espejo learned little more than he already knew. In 1591, Castaño de Sosa also visited the Tigua, as likewise did Juan de Oñate, as above mentioned, who discovered in 1598 on a wall of a room at Puaray a partially effaced painting representing the murder of the missionaries seventeen years before. (See note 49.)

Extensive excavations by the University of New Mexico, the Museum of New Mexico, and the School of American Research have revealed the ruins of pueblos of the historic and prehistoric periods west of the Río Grande, opposite Bernalillo, within the Tiguex range of Coronado's time, one of which, Kuaua, has become the Coronado State monument. For the location of these Tiguex pueblos, see Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia," *Old Santa Fe*, II, pp. 381-391; Vivian, "The Excavation of Bandelier's Puaray," *El Palacio*, XXXVII; Tichy, "Observations on the Mission Uncovered at Puaray," *ibid.*, XLI; Scholes, "Notes on Sandia and Puaray," *ibid.*, XLII.

The eastern portion of what was the Salinas area of the Tigua up to about 1674 was limited to a narrow strip along the eastern slope of the Manzano mountains, and included the pueblos above-mentioned, possibly one near the present hamlet of Manzano, and in all probability others, since Chamuscado mentions the existence of eleven pueblos in this area in 1581. To the east of this range lay a country bountifully supplied with game, including buffalo, while round about the settlements were the saline lagoons from which this region derives its name and from which the Indians obtained salt for barter with tribes as far south as Parral in Chihuahua.

Yet the inhabitants were beset with many disadvantages. For the greater part their range was an inhospitable desert, exposed to the nomadic and warlike Apache whose constant raids resulted first in the abandonment of Chililí, between 1669 and 1674, then Quarái (now a New Mexico State monument), about 1674, its inhabitants joining those of Tajique, which a year later was also permanently abandoned. Most of these villagers of the Salinas fled to their kindred at Isleta on the Río Grande, where they remained until 1680.

In the Pueblo rebellion the Tigua farther north, as well as those of Alameda, Sandia, and Puaray, participated, but the inhabitants of Isleta took no immediate part on account of the presence of Spanish refugees. On the reappearance of Governor Otermín in 1681, all these pueblos except Isleta were abandoned and were afterward burned by the Spaniards. The Isleteños, however, held out until their village was stormed and about five hundred of their number made captives, most of whom were taken to El Paso and later settled in the pueblo of Isleta del Sur, Texas. Of the remainder of the population of Isleta and Sandia, a large portion fled to Tusayán, in the present northeastern Arizona, where they lived with the Hopi until 1709 or 1718, when the Isleta people returned and reoccupied their pueblo.

The Sandia Indians, however, who numbered 441, appear to have

remained at Tusayán until 1742, when the survivors returned to the Rio Grande at the instance of Padres Delgado and Pino, and in 1748 were settled in a new pueblo on or near the site of their old village, where they have since remained. Alameda and Puaray were never reestablished as Indian pueblos. In 1938, the total population of the four remaining Tigua villages was 2,176. (See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. ii, pp. 218, 253 *et seq.*) For an account of their condition in 1540-41, when Coronado spent the winter among them and treated them with great barbarity, see Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, caption "Tiguex." For the history of the eastern Tigua during the mission period, see Scholes (1) *Church and State in New Mexico*; (2) "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions"; Scholes and Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem"; Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III; and for the history of the participation by the Tigua in the Pueblo revolt of 1680, consult Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*, 2 vols.; see also Hackett in *Old Santa Fe*, II, pp. 381-391. The name *Tiguex*, so common in early Spanish chronicles, is the plural form, (pronounced *Teewesh*) of the aboriginal appellation *Tiwan*.

It may be well to consider here the two surviving pueblos of the southern Tiwa, the other two, Taos and Picuris, to be described later.

Sandia (Spanish, "watermelon"). This Tigua pueblo is near the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, twelve miles north of Albuquerque, in Sandoval county. It is the successor of one of the towns of the province of Tiguex of Coronado (1540-42), but it was not mentioned by name; it was the Napeya (from *Naphiat*, or *Nafiat*) of Oñate in 1598, and became the seat of the mission of San Francisco. From the studies of Prof. France V. Scholes, the earlier career of Father Perea in New Mexico has become known. He went to Mexico in 1605; four years later he joined the friars sent out to New Mexico with Peralta and Peinado, being assigned to the Tiwa of the Middle Rio Grande valley, where he built the church and convent of Sandia and served as a missionary during the major part of fifteen years; even when he was custodian under his first appointment as such, in 1617-21, he spent part of his time at Sandia. See Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650*. The remains of Fray Francisco López were reinterred by Perea at Sandia, as probably were also those of Fray Agustín Rodríguez, and Perea himself died and was buried there (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 312), following his second missionary term. In c. 1641, Sandia had "an excellent church," had Puerros (Puaray?) as its *visita*, and a population of 640. Twenty-five years later it had two priests and a lay-brother, and two unnamed *visitas*.

At the time of the Pueblo revolt in 1680, many of the inhabitants of Sandia fled with others to the Hopi Indians of Arizona, there building, in all probability, a now-ruined but evidently historical pueblo, called Payúpki, on the Middle Mesa. It is significant that the same name is applied by the Hopi also to the present Sandia pueblo. On Otermín's return to New Mexico in 1681 for the purpose of reconquering the province, he destroyed Sandia, but in 1748 it was rebuilt near its present site by Fray Juan Miguel Menchero, who was granted authority by the governor, Don Joaquín Codallos y Rabal, to reestablish the town, settling therein 350 of the 441 Tigua brought from the Hopi country (Tusayán)

six years before by Fathers Delgado and Pino, together, probably, with scattered natives of other pueblos. On the refounding of the mission the name was changed from San Francisco to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The population of Sandia in 1938 was 128 and 136 in 1944; about the time of the revolt of 1680 its inhabitants, according to Vetancurt (an excellent authority on Pueblo population), were estimated to number 3,000. Consult Bandelier, *op. cit.*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 243 *et seq.*; Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, p. 214 *et seq.*; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, I, pp. 235-237; Hackett, *op. cit.*; Scholes, "Documents for the . . . New Mexican Missions."

Other early friars at Sandia were Fray Francisco Fonte, 1635; Fray Nicolás Hidalgo, 1640-1641; Fray Cristóbal de Velasco, 1648; Fray Fernando de Velasco, 1659; Fray Salvador de Guerra, 1660; Fray Felipe Rodríguez, 1660-1661; Fray Francisco Muñoz, 1662-63, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1672; Fray Nicolás Echavarría, 1668; Fray Juan de Jesús, 1672; Fray Tomás de Tobalina, 1680.

Isleta (Spanish, "islet," so called from the situation of the village, before the Rio Grande changed its course, on a delta or island between the bed of a mountain torrent and the river). A Tigua pueblo on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 12½ miles south of Albuquerque, in Bernalillo county. Its native name is *Shi-e-hwiib'-bak*, signifying "knife laid on the ground to play (the game of) *hwiib'*," perhaps in allusion to the knife-like shape of the lava ridge on which the pueblo is built (Lummis, *Man Who Married the Moon*, p. 4). Although the contrary is stated by Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 234), Lummis, who resided at Isleta for several years, asserts that the pueblo is one of only two (Acoma being the other) that stand on the sites occupied when Coronado visited New Mexico in 1540.

The first missionary to Isleta was Fray Juan Claros, who with other friars went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598 (see note 68), but in addition to Isleta, Fray Juan ministered to all the Tigua and Piro villages of the Rio Grande. The first permanent mission established at Isleta, however, according to Benavides, who is followed by Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 310), was dedicated to San Antonio de Padua, but as the patron saint of Senecú as well as of Alamillo was also San Antonio, it is possible that San Agustín, its later and present mission name, may have been intended. The seventeenth century references, however, are to San Antonio.

The original church and convent, erected by Fray Juan de Salas about the year 1613, the year after his arrival, were regarded by both Benavides and Vetancurt as unusually fine in their day. Fray Juan continued to serve till he became custodian in 1630, which office he held till 1632, and again from 1638-1641. He apparently made Isleta his headquarters during his first term as custodian (Scholes, "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, x, pp. 214-215). In 1643, Salas was at Quarái.

Other early friars at Isleta were Fray Diego López, before 1629; Fray Jerónimo de la Llana, 1634; Fray Francisco de la Concepción, 1636-38; Fray Juan Juárez, 1640-41; Fray Miguel de Sacristán, 1658, 1660; Fray Francisco de Salazar, 1659-60; Fray Salvador de Guerra, 1660; Fray Diego de Parraga and Fray Joseph de Paredes, 1662; Fray Tomás de Alvarado, 1665; Fray Nicolás del Villar, 1668-69; Fray Hernando de Monroy, about 1669;

Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, 1672; and Fray Juan de Zavaleta, 1680.

In c. 1641, Isleta's church and convent were still described as "very fine"; the population was 750. In 1666, it had two priests.

At *Alameda*, a church is mentioned as early as 1629, but apparently it was not finished until later, or a new church was built later, for in the Peñalosa case (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, *Inquisición*, 507) we have mention of the fact that the church was just then being finished. Date of erection of the convent is not known. Fray Justo de Miranda is mentioned as guardian in 1635, but apparently the place was usually served from Sandia.

In c. 1641, *Alameda* had a fair church and convent, with poor provision for public worship. There were 400 souls under its administration.

Puaray was evidently served from Sandia. It does not appear that it ever had a convent, although Vivian ("The Excavation of Bandelier's Puaray") mentions the remains of a Spanish church-like building in the excavation of "Bandelier's Puaray."

Date of the founding of the convent at *Tajique* is not known exactly. Fray Francisco de la Concepción was guardian in 1635; Fray Jerónimo de la Llana in 1636; Fray Diego de Parraga was there in 1660, his name appearing in a scandal in which an Indian charged the friar with improper relations with his wife over a three-year period; Fray Juan Ramírez was stationed there in 1660; Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, 1671-72; and, in 1672 also, Fray Sebastián de Aliri.

Quarái, spelled Cuarac in the 17th century documents, may have had a convent as early as 1628. At least, there is reference to Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica as guardian of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Querac in that year; it would hardly seem that this could have been anything but Cuarac. Perea served there in the 1630's, Cuarac becoming the official headquarters of the Inquisition in New Mexico at the time. Moreover, when Fray Juan de Salas became commissary of the Holy Office, after his second term as custodian (1638-41), he served for a time at Quarái (Cuarac), in the decade of the 1640's. Fray Nicolás de Freitas was guardian in 1660; Fray Francisco de Salazar is listed for 1668; and Fray Diego de Parraga was elected guardian in 1672.

The Quarái mission church, today, has been repaired and is a New Mexico state monument.

Previous to the Pueblo revolt of 1680, Isleta had received important accretions of population from the Tigua pueblos of the Manzano, notably Chililí, Quarái, and Tajique, when their pueblos were abandoned on account of Apache depredations between 1669 and 1674; so that at the time of the revolt, its population, according to Vetancurt, was 2,000.

Since the Spanish settlers along the lower Rio Grande took refuge in Isleta as soon as the uprising occurred in 1680, thus interrupting communication between its inhabitants and the seat of the insurrection at the northern villages, the Isleta Indians did not participate in the massacre of the colonists and priests in the vicinity. When Otermín retreated from Santa Fe, however, he found the pueblo abandoned, the inhabitants having joined the rebels. In 1681, Otermín surprised and captured the village, and on returning from his northern tour, January 1, 1682, took

with him to El Paso the 385 Indians found there; these were settled on the northeastern bank of the Rio Grande, a few miles below El Paso, Texas, the name *Isleta del Sur* ("Isleta of the South") being applied to their pueblo, and the old saint name, San Antonio, being at first retained, but later changed to Corpus Christi.

The date of the reestablishment of the northern *Isleta* is somewhat in doubt, but there is evidence that some scattered Tigua families were reassembled at the ruined village in 1709, and that these were joined by many others who, with those of Sandia, had fled to Tusayán, Arizona, between 1680 and 1692. *Tomé* and *Belen*, in which had been established numerous *genizaros*, or redeemed captives, were *visitas*, or sub-missions of *Isleta* in 1788 (*Tomé* was completely destroyed by freshet in the spring of 1905, but was resettled). The population of *Isleta* in 1938 was 1167. By January, 1944, it had increased to 1334.

In addition to the authorities above cited, consult Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 233 *et seq.*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*; Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico*; Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate*; Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*; idem, *Troublous Times in New Mexico*; Hackett, *Hist. Documents*, III. For the ethnology of *Isleta*, see Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvi, and Parsons, *Isleta, New Mexico*. A brief bibliography of the Tigua is given by Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, s. v. "*Isleta*" and "*Taos*."

76. For the missionary labors of these two friars, see Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*.

77. *Queres* Nation. Benavides, like earlier Spanish chroniclers, used the aboriginal designation (*K'eres*) of this "nation," which forms a distinct linguistic stock embracing the inhabitants of villages on the Rio Grande between the Rito de los Frijoles (where they joined the Tewa country on the north) and the Rio Jemez, as well as on the latter stream from the pueblo of *Sia* to near its mouth. The western division of the *Queres*, or *Keresan*, stock comprises the pueblos of *Acoma* and *Laguna*, with their outlying hamlets, whose people speak a slightly different dialect. *Laguna*, however, did not exist in Benavides' time, it having been founded by various other villagers near the close of the 17th century.

Like other Pueblo tribes, the *Queres* maintain that they had their origin at *Sipapu*, or *Shípu*, in the far north, and that they slowly drifted southward to the Rio Grande, taking up their abode in the Rito de los Frijoles, or *Tyuonyi*, where they excavated the cave lodges which still honeycomb the cliffs (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, ch. iv; also his *Delight Makers*). Long before the coming of the Spaniards they had abandoned the Rito, and, moving farther southward, separated into a number of autonomous village communities. According to Coronado, who visited the "*Quirix*" province in 1540-42, these Indians occupied seven pueblos, exclusive of *Acoma* and *Sia*. Forty years later, Espejo found the "*Quires*" province to comprise five towns, but these did not include *Acoma*, nor *Sia* and *Santa Ana*, which latter two belonged to his *Punames* or *Cunames* province. There was thus comparatively little change in the number and location of the *Queres* pueblos between the

time of Coronado's visit and the establishment of missions in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

As in Benavides' time, San Felipe is the first Queres pueblo met in journeying northward; then come Santo Domingo and Cochití, with Sia and Santa Ana on the Rio Jemez to the westward. The first missionary assigned to the Queres was Fray Juan de Rosas (see note 68), of Oñate's colony, in 1598, but no attempt was made to erect churches until after the beginning of the seventeenth century. The aggregate Queres population in 1938 was 5962 and 6630 in 1944, or about half of the Pueblo population. The three churches and convents among the Queres, mentioned by Benavides, "aside from those which each pueblo has," were probably those still existing at the time of the Pueblo revolt of 1680, namely, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 315-316, 322).

A brief notice of the early history of each of the present Queres pueblos follows:

San Felipe. This village is situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande, about 12 miles above Bernalillo. Before the advent of the Spaniards in New Mexico, probably in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the ancestors of the inhabitants of this pueblo and of Cochití formed a single tribe occupying successively a number of pueblos, the last of which was called Kuapa. Owing to the aggressiveness of the Tewa, whose territory formed their northern boundary, says Bandelier, this Queres group was forced to separate into two divisions, one, the Cochití, retiring to the Potrero Viejo, the other going farther down the Rio Grande to the site of the present hamlet of Cubero, on the west bank of the river, where they built the pueblo of Katishtya. Subsequently this village was abandoned and a new one, bearing the same name, was constructed at the foot of the black mesa of Tamita, east of the Rio Grande, where the San Felipe tribe was found by Coronado in 1540.

In 1591, Castaño de Sosa visited the pueblo and probably gave it the saint name by which it is now commonly known. Seven years later (1598), Oñate also visited San Felipe, and his narrative applies the name "Castixe" (Katishtya) collectively to the pueblos of San Felipe and "Comitze." This is doubtless an error in recording, however, the latter name being apparently a misprint or corruption of Tamita, the name of the mesa at the foot of which the pueblo of San Felipe stood. It became the seat of a Spanish mission in the early years of the 17th century. According to Vetancurt, its first church was built by Fray Cristóbal de Quiñones, who died in the pueblo, April 17, 1609, and was buried in the edifice he had founded. Scholes is of the opinion, however, on the basis of his extensive 17th century studies, that Vetancurt confused Quiñones with Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, who was the real founder of San Felipe mission; but Quiñones may well have been in New Mexico prior to 1609.

Quirós probably came to New Mexico with Peinado in 1609-10. In 1613-16, he was guardian of Sia mission, and in the following year he was stationed at Santo Domingo. In 1621, he was guardian of San Felipe and apparently remained there until his death in 1643. He succeeded Fray Juan de Góngora as custodian in 1635 and served until about 1637, in which latter year San Felipe was the residence of the father custodian, but not as a permanent seat. Fray Gerónimo Pedraza died there on May 5,

1664. In the latter year, San Felipe was reported as having a good church. Among the friars who served in San Felipe after the death of Quirós and a population of 350.

were Fray Juan Suárez (or Juárez?), 1643, and Fray Juan de Plasencia, 1662.

San Felipe is mentioned as a *visita* of Santo Domingo as of 1615. The convent of San Felipe was erected prior to 1621, since Quirós was guardian in that year. From 1643 on, it would appear, San Felipe was usually a *visita* of Santo Domingo.

The San Felipe Indians took an active part in the Pueblo revolt of 1680, and as there was then no resident priest at their pueblo to murder, they aided in the massacre of the missionaries of Cochití and Santo Domingo (including their own who resided at the latter village), as well as in the slaughter of the Spanish colonists in the neighboring haciendas and of some of the members of their own tribe who remained faithful to the Spaniards. In the latter part of 1681, the pueblo was deserted by its inhabitants, who fled with the Cochiteños and others to Potrero Viejo, but returned in 1683 (see Cochití, below). Between the latter date and 1692, when Vargas made his appearance in New Mexico, they again retreated with the other tribes to the Potrero, but the Felipeños were induced by the Spaniards to return. When Vargas appeared the following year, he found the San Felipe Indians in a new pueblo on the summit at the northern end of the long black mesa (Tyit-i Tzat-ya) northwest of the present village, which had been built subsequent to 1683. Here a church was erected in 1694, a part of the walls of which are still standing. Soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century, when there was no further necessity of a defensive site, the tribe left its mesa settlement and erected at its base the San Felipe of the present time—the fourth pueblo that has borne the aboriginal appellation Katishtya. No remains of the old pueblo near the mesa of Tamita are traceable. San Felipe's population in 1940 was 689. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 126; pt. II, p. 187 *et seq.*; White, "The Pueblo of San Felipe," *Memoirs Amer. Anthr. Asso.*, no. 38; and writings of Scholes.

Santo Domingo. Near the east bank of the Rio Grande, about 20 miles above Bernalillo. The earliest traditions of its inhabitants, according to Bandelier, locate their pueblo at the Potrero de la Cañada Quemada, whence, in prehistoric times, they removed successively to two pueblos, each named Quigui, the later one of which they occupied when Oñate visited them in 1598. The earlier Quigui stood on the banks of the Arroyo de Galisteo, more than a mile east of the present station of Domingo, but it was partially destroyed by a freshet, the inhabitants being compelled to move farther westward where the second Quigui was built. This pueblo, which also was washed away, was succeeded by Huashpa Tzena, on the Rio Grande, but it suffered the fate of its predecessors. The present Santo Domingo, called by the natives Ki-ua, has had three disasters since its establishment more than two hundred years ago, the latest occurring in 1886 when both churches were destroyed.

At the time of Juan de Oñate's visit in 1598, Santo Domingo was chosen as the convent of the Advocación de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 254). It became the seat of a mission at an early date, apparently by 1604, its first church probably being erected

by Fray Juan de Escalona, the commissary. Fray Quiñones (or Quirós, see San Felipe, above) may have assisted him, while also serving San Felipe, though San Felipe was not a permanent mission seat until later.

Santo Domingo was the ecclesiastical capital of the province, where the custodian usually, though not always, had his headquarters.

Other friars at Santo Domingo in the 17th century were Fray Bernardo de Marta, 1613-14; Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, 1617; Fray Andrés Suárez, 1621; Fray Martín de Arvide, 1625; Fray Francisco de Avila, 1640-41; Fray Joseph de Paredes, 1656; Fray Juan de Plasencia, 1661-62; Fray Francisco de Acevedo, 1663-64; Fray Tomás de Torres, 1667; Fray Gabriel de Torija, 1667-68; Fray Nicolás de Freitas, 1669; Fray Juan Bernal and Fray Juan del Val, 1672; Fray Juan Talaban, Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, Fray José de Montes de Oca, 1680.

In *circa* 1641, with 850 inhabitants, Santo Domingo had a good church and convent; Cochití was its *visita*, and after 1782 both San Felipe and Cochití were *visitas*. Its population in 1940 was 1030. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 260; pt. II, p. 184 *et seq.*; and for the ethnology of Santo Domingo, see White, "The Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico," *Memoirs Amer. Anthr. Assn.*, no. 43; Densmore, Frances, "Music of Santo Domingo Pueblo, New Mexico," *Papers of the Southwest Museum*, no. 12; Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvi.

Cochití. From *Ko-tyi-ti*, or *Qo-tyi-ti*, the native name of the pueblo. On the west bank of the Rio Grande, 27 miles southwest from Santa Fe. Before moving to their present location, according to Bandelier, the inhabitants successively occupied the Tyuonyi, or Rito de los Frijoles, the Potrero de las Vacas, the pueblo of Ha-a-tze on Potrero San Miguel or Potrero del Capulín, and the pueblo of Kuapa in the Cañada de Cochití. Up to this time, which was still before the earliest Spanish explorations, the inhabitants of Cochití and San Felipe formed one tribe, but on account of the hostilities of their northern neighbors, the Tewa, the tribe was divided, one part going southward where they built the pueblo of Katishtya (see San Felipe, above), while the other took refuge on the Potrero Viejo where they established a village known as Hanut Cochití. On the abandonment of this village, they retired 6 or 7 miles southeastward to the site of the present Cochití pueblo on the Rio Grande where they were found by Oñate in 1598.

The Cochiteños took an active part in the Pueblo revolt of 1680, but remained in their pueblo for 15 months after its outbreak. At the end of this time, however, learning of the return of Governor Otermín from El Paso to reconquer New Mexico, they retreated with their kindred of Santo Domingo and San Felipe, reinforced by some Tano from San Marcos and Tigua from Taos and Picuris, to the Potrero Viejo, where they remained until about 1683, at which date it was reported that all the villages north of San Felipe had been reinhabited. In 1683, the Cochiteños, with their San Marcos and San Felipe allies, again took refuge on the Potrero Viejo, where, with the inhabitants of San Felipe and San Marcos, they built a large village. In October, 1692, they were visited in their fortified abode, known to the Spaniards as Cieneguilla, by Vargas, the reconqueror of New Mexico, who induced them to promise to return to their permanent villages on the Rio Grande. But only the Queres of San Felipe proved sincere, for

in the same year the Cochiteños and the San Marcos people returned to the Potrero where they remained until April of the following year, when Vargas, with 70 soldiers, 20 colonists, and 100 warriors from the now friendly Queres of San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Sia, assaulted the town on the night of April 16-17 and forced the Cochiteños to flee after a loss of 21 killed, and 342 women and children captured. The Indian allies leaving for the protection of their own homes and the force of Vargas becoming thus weakened, the Cochiteños returned on April 21, surprised the Spaniards, and succeeded in liberating half of their captives. Vargas remained until the 24th, when he burned the pueblo and evacuated the Potrero, taking with him to Santa Fe a large quantity of corn and other booty (including 70 horses and 900 sheep), and nearly 200 captive women and children.

Cochití was a *visita* of Santo Domingo in 1614. By 1637, it became the seat of a separate convent, with Fray Justo de Miranda as guardian. In *circa* 1641, it was a *visita* of Santo Domingo and likewise after 1782. In 1680, according to Vetancurt, the mission of San Buenaventura at Cochití had 300 inhabitants. Its population in 1940 was 328. For authorities, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 139 *et seq.*; Hackett, *op. cit.*; Goldfrank, "The Social and Ceremonial Organization of Cochití"; Dumarest, "Notes on Cochití"; and the writings of Scholes.

Sia. An adaptation of Tsía, the aboriginal name. Situated on the northeast bank of the Rio Jemez, about 16 miles northwest of Bernalillo. Coronado (1541) mentions a single village of the tribe, but Espejo (1583) visited the "province," which he called Punames or Cunames, describing it as containing five pueblos, of which Sia was the largest. Oñate (1598) accounts for four pueblos of the Tzias or Tzios, to which was assigned, with other pueblos for missionary labor, Fray Andrés Corchado (see note 68). Near the present Sia are the ruins of at least two villages which Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 196) regards as possibly having belonged to the cluster mentioned by Espejo.

Sia engaged with the other Pueblos in the great revolt of 1680, making a determined stand for nine years, when in August, 1689, they were assaulted by Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate who wrecked the pueblo and decimated the tribe in the most bloody engagement of the rebellion. The friendly attitude of these Indians toward the Spaniards from that time until the close of the second revolt in 1696 created considerable friction between them and the people of Jemez and Cochití.

Sia was the seat of the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción from about the year 1613; its convent was actually mentioned in July of that year. Fray Bernardo de Marta, who came to New Mexico in 1609-10, or possibly as late as 1612, and not in 1605, as Rosa Figueroa states, died there before 1621, according to Scholes and Bloom, and not in the 1630's, as stated by Rosa Figueroa and Vetancurt. Fray Bernardo was guardian of Santo Domingo in 1613 and of Galisteo in 1614.

Among the friars who served at Sia and whose names we know were Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, 1613-17; Fray Agustín de Burgos, 1622; Fray Francisco Alvarez, 1640-41; Fray Tomás de Alvarado, 1662; Fray Nicolás de Enríquez, 1665; Fray Pedro de Villegas, 1666; Fray Lucas Maldonado, 1670-71; Fray Felipe Pacheco, 1672; and Fray Nicolás Hurtado, 1680.

With 800 inhabitants in *circa* 1641, Sia had a church and convent, with Santa Ana as its *visita*; and Santa Ana and Jemez were its *visitas* after 1782. On the authority of Bandelier, the pueblo owes its decline after the revolt to the constant inter-killing going on for supposed evil practices of witchcraft. The population in 1940 was 235. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 260; pt. II, p. 194 *et seq.*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*; Hackett, *op. cit.* For an ethnological memoir on the tribe, see Matilda Cox Stevenson, *The Sia*.

Santa Ana. Native name, *Tamāyá*. On the northeast bank of the Rio Jemez, about 8 miles southeast of Sia. The original pueblo, according to Bandelier, stood near the Mesa del Cangelón, west of the Rio Grande and north of Bernalillo; but this was abandoned before the advent of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, and another built, about midway between the present Santa Ana and San Felipe, on the great black mesa of San Felipe. This was the village visited in 1598 by Oñate, who referred to it as Tamy and Tamaya—the latter being the name applied by the inhabitants to both this pueblo and its predecessor. It was early the seat of a Spanish mission, and although it had no resident priest at the time of the revolt, it was not without a church and convent. In the revolt of 1680, the Santa Ana tribe joined the natives of San Felipe in the massacre of the priests at Santo Domingo and the colonists in the Rio Grande valley. As the pueblo was situated west of the Rio Grande, it was not molested by Governor Otermín during his attempt to reconquer New Mexico in 1681; but in 1687 Pedro Reneros de Posada, then governor at El Paso, carried the pueblo by storm after a desperate resistance, and burned the village, several Indians perishing in the flames. When Vargas made his appearance in 1692, the tribe occupied a mesa known as Cerro Colorado, 10 miles to the north, and westward from Jemez, but were induced to return to their former locality where they built the pueblo now occupied, and which, like the two others, is known as Tamayá. In 1614, *circa* 1641, 1663, and 1782, Santa Ana was a *visita* of Sia. It is not certain that a separate convent was ever established there, its usual status being that of a *visita* of Sia. Its population in 1940 was 268. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 126; pt. II, p. 193 *et seq.*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 200 *et passim*; Hackett, *op. cit.*; White, *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico* (1942).

For an account of Acoma and Laguna, see notes 43 and 97, and for a brief bibliography of the Queres, consult Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, s. v. "Acoma" and "Queres."

78. See note 71.

79. Tompiros. Benavides was the first to employ the name Tompira, or Tompiro, for the Piro of the Salinas, east of the Rio Grande, although he improperly included in the term the Tigua villages of that area. (See paragraphs xxv and xxvii.) Like many of the early writers, Benavides is sometimes loose in his directions and distances, as he is also in population; for example, he states that the chain of pueblos extending southward from Chilili begins "ten leagues toward the east" from the aforesaid nation of Queres. Lest some student of the subject should be misled by such statements, it may be well to mention that the expression "toward the east" (*azia el oriente*), or toward any other direction, so frequently used by early

Spanish authorities, should not be construed to mean *due* east, etc., but *eastwardly*; i. e., anywhere in a generally eastward direction—in fact almost anywhere east of a north-and-south line.

It seems scarcely necessary to call attention to such an obviously simple interpretation, yet at least one writer on the Spanish exploration of the Southwest has taken every such expression as the one cited to mean not what the author intended, but what would best give substance to a phantom argument presented in the face of all other evidence, however incontrovertible. Examples of such looseness might be quoted from practically every chronicler who wrote of New Mexico from its discovery in 1539 to the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, were it necessary to prove the point, for they are almost as numerous as the exaggerations in population and the over-estimates or under-estimates in distance. The directions given were frequently based on the route traveled; for instance, in journeying from the Queres pueblos to Chililí, which lies to the southeastward, it was necessary to make a wide detour toward the east in order to avoid the rugged Sandia mountains. The pueblos of the Salinas, by the way, were generally approached from the north, thus making the Tigua pueblo of Chililí "el primer pueblo del valle de Salinas" (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 324). Even in an air-line, however, the distance from San Felipe, the nearest Queres pueblo, to Chililí was more nearly fifteen than ten leagues, while the distance measured by the route necessarily traveled must have been double that. Concerning Benavides' population figures, more anon. Benavides again gives the *general* direction only. In the former case, the direction from Chililí to Galisteo (the principal Tano pueblo) is given as "toward the north," whereas, strictly speaking, it is east of north. And so with "the same north" to "Peccos," which is really northeast—as in many other instances throughout the work.

With reference to the activities of the early missionaries among the Tompiro, we are pleased to present the following comments by Dr. France V. Scholes:

"The Tompiro group included Abó, Tenabó, and other towns in the 'Salinas' area of eastern New Mexico. Missionary work was apparently commenced at Abó as early as 1622, but details are lacking. Fray Francisco Fonte is recorded as guardian of the convent of Abó in 1626. After the arrival of Perea's party in 1629, a group of the newcomers was assigned to service among the Piro and Tompiro. One member of this party, Fray Francisco de Acevedo, has usually been regarded as the founder of Abó mission, but the mission had actually been established before Acevedo's time. Moreover, although Acevedo probably began his services among the Tompiro in 1629, he may not have been in actual charge until several years later. Fray Juan del Campo is recorded as guardian in 1634. It is evident, however, from testimony in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, that Acevedo spent many years in the Salinas area prior to 1659 (in this year he was stationed at Alamillo), and consequently he probably deserves chief credit for work carried on in that area. Other friars who served at Abó were Fray Antonio Aguado (1659), Fray Joseph de Paredes (1662), Fray Gabriel de Torija (1668), Fray Nicolás del Villar (1669), and Fray Ildefonso (or Alonso) Gil de Avila (1672)).

"It is my view that the pueblos of Jumanos-Rayados of the Oñate

documents also formed part of the Tompiro group. I believe that they were permanent settlements, with Pueblo culture, and that they spoke the Tompiro language. But apparently the use of a form of body decoration caused Oñate and his associates to characterize them as Jumanos or Rayados. The term Jumano, as I have shown in my paper with Mera, was used as a general term for Indians who used a form of body decoration. These settlements included the present 'Gran Quivira' ruin and other sites in that area.

"Benavides tells how he went, in 1627, to convert a place called Xumanas, 'because this nation often comes there to trade and barter.' I believe that this was one of the permanent Jumano-Rayado settlements of the Oñate documents. Benavides' explanation of the name evidently refers to the fact that plains 'Jumanos' came there to trade, but it would not rule out another explanation of the name, as given above. Here Benavides established San Isidro mission. In 1629, Letrado evidently took charge and remained there until he went to the Zuñi area. Benavides says Letrado founded a convent and church at this Xumanas pueblo, but later on the mission was apparently administered from Abó. About 1659-60, however, it again became the seat of a resident missionary, Fray Diego de Santander, who began the construction of a new church. Fray Joseph de Paredes was in charge in 1666-69.

"This mission, now often called Las Humanas, was first identified as Gran Quivira by Kubler. I am in complete agreement with him on this point. There is no doubt whatever that Las Humanas was Tompiro-speaking.

"Hodge records the traditional view which identified Gran Quivira as the Tabirá of the chronicles. Tabirá and Las Humanas were separate missions, Tabirá being a *visita* of the latter in the 1660's. Consequently, if Gran Quivira is Las Humanas, then Tabirá must be a separate site. I regard Tabirá as a Tompiro settlement, administered in earlier times from Abó, later from Las Humanas, and I think it was probably one of the Jumano-Rayado settlements of the Oñate documents."

80. Chililí. This Tigua pueblo was situated on the Arroyo de Chililí, about 25 miles southeast of Albuquerque. The town was inadvertently mentioned as "captain" of a pueblo by Oñate in 1598; the next reference is that of Benavides. The church, which was dedicated to La Navidad de Nuestra Señora, was established by Fray Alonso Peinado who went to New Mexico in the winter of 1609-10 as commissary of the missions and about 1613 moved to Chililí, where he died and was buried after 1622. Other friars at Chililí whose names have been preserved in various documentary sources were Fray Francisco de Salazar, 1634 and 1636, Fray Fernando de Velasco, c. 1660, and Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, 1671-1672, apparently before the election of 1672. Like the other pueblos of this area, Chililí was abandoned between 1669 and 1676 on account of Apache raids. Most of the inhabitants fled to the Tigua of the Rio Grande, but some joined the Mansos at El Paso. The population of Chililí before its abandonment was about 500, according to Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 324), who, evidently following Benavides, incorrectly stated that its inhabitants were Piro. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 128-131; pt. II, pp. 113,

255-257, and, in the *Fifth Report of the Archaeological Institute of America*, p. 34. See also Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten" in *Land of Poco Tiempo*, p. 286 *et seq.*; Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*. See note 75.

81. See note 72. Respecting the criticism of the "old sorcerer" against the custom of flagellation by the Franciscans, see paragraph LII, in which it is stated that the Indians, during Holy Week, "flagellate themselves in most solemn procession."

82. See paragraph XLI.

83. Tano. From *T'han-u-ge*, their own name, which, according to J. P. Harrington, signifies "live down country people" in the existing Tewa language. This division of the Tanoan linguistic stock (the others being the Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa) is now extinct as an autonomous group. In early times, according to Bandelier, they formed the southern division of the Tewa, and during the early historical period they inhabited several pueblos, principally in the basin of the Galisteo, some 20 miles southward from Santa Fe. The Tano were visited by Coronado in 1541 on his way to Pecos (he mentions the pueblo of Ximena, which Bandelier identifies with Galisteo), again in 1583 by Espejo who found them two days' journey east of the Río Grande in eleven pueblos forming the province of Magrias, or Maguas, with 40,000 inhabitants—a vastly exaggerated estimate; later Espejo went eastward twelve leagues from the Queres and found the province of Ubates, or Hubates, with 20,000 Indians in five pueblos. Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 87) identifies the Magrias province of Espejo with the Tano habitat in the basin of the Galisteo, and attributes the province of Hubates or Ubates (corrupted from *Puya-tye*, the Queres name of the Tano) to the same (*Gilded Man*, p. 285).

Espejo's narrative is rather confused, and it is difficult to harmonize his "provinces" with the groups of pueblos as known at a later period. (For recent attempts to identify the names applied by the Spaniards to these pueblo groups, see Nelson, *Pueblo Ruins of the Galisteo Basin*, and Luxán's *Journal of the Espejo Expedition*.) Castaño de Sosa visited the Tano in 1591, naming San Lucas (Galisteo), San Marcos, and San Cristóbal. Oñate (1598) mentions Galisteo (misprinted "Glistéo") which he named Santa Ana, while he records also San Marcos under that name as well as under the designation Yatez (aboriginal name, Yaatzte), and San Cristóbal he designates by the name applied by Castaño de Sosa, but spelled Sant Xpoual, a common abbreviation for San Cristóbal. Fray Juan de Rosas was assigned to look after the spiritual welfare of the Tano and some of the Queres at this time, and a convent was established at Galisteo prior to 1612. According to Bandelier, the vicinity of Santa Fe was also occupied by Tano in prehistoric times, and ruins of their villages may still be traced in that locality.

The Tano had already suffered severely from the invasions of the wild Querechos, or Apaches Vaqueros, and the "Teyas" (who were met on the plains by Coronado in 1541), before the advent of the Spaniards. It should be stated that although Benavides refers to five Tano pueblos in his Memorial of 1630, in the present revision he alludes to five, in addition

to Galisteo, which is probably a slip on our author's part. As to which these five villages were there seems to be some doubt, as contemporary authorities conflict in regard to the language of the inhabitants of the pueblos of the region long occupied by the Tano—some stating that they were Queres, others that they belonged to the Tano. Bandelier, however, is inclined to the opinion that all the pueblos of the Galisteo region were Tano, and if this be true, the five pueblos alluded to by Benavides were probably Galisteo, San Marcos, San Lázaro, San Cristóbal, and Ciénega. All of these still existed at the beginning of the Pueblo revolt of 1680-92, in which, as well as in the lesser insurrections of 1694 and 1696, the Tano took such an active part and met with such reverses that they were virtually exterminated.

When the rebellion actually began on August 10, 1680, the Tano were among the first to appear before Santa Fe, to which the Indians laid siege for five days, when they were driven off. After the retreat of the Spaniards, the Galisteos took possession of the Palacio and other public offices, which they fortified, while the natives of San Lázaro and San Cristóbal settled north of Santa Fe, where Santa Cruz de la Cañada was established a few years later. The inhabitants of San Marcos and Ciénega also abandoned their pueblos, the former joining the Queres of Cochiti and San Felipe, the latter possibly mixing with their kindred at Santa Fe and the Cañada or with those of San Marcos. The result of the visit by Vargas in 1692 and the disaster which befell the Tano of Galisteo in 1693-94 when they refused to vacate the provincial offices at Santa Fe is related in note 86.

Vargas continued northward from Santa Fe in 1692, receiving the submission of the Pueblos en route, including the new San Cristóbal and San Lázaro on October 2; but San Marcos and Galisteo were found deserted when visited later in the month. In January, 1694, the Indians were ready for another revolt. The Tano of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro joined the Tewa who (with the exception of those of San Juan) entrenched themselves on the Mesa of Tuyo, or San Ildefonso, two miles north of the pueblo of the latter name. Vargas made four expeditions against the mesa, three of which proved unsuccessful. The first was on January 28, 1694, and as the Tewa made proposals of surrender, Vargas returned to Santa Fe without making an attack upon them. But as the Indians soon after resumed hostilities, he invested the mesa from February 27 to March 19, making an ineffectual assault on March 4. A third attempt was made on June 30 without result; and finally, on the 4th [8th] of September, after a siege of five days, the Tewa surrendered (see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 82; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 207-208 *et seq.*; Bailey, *Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico, 1692-1704*; and Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*, for additional details from Spanish documents).

Various causes led to the disaffection of the Indians again in the following year (1695), on April 12 of which was founded the new town of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, where the San Cristóbal and San Lázaro Tano had settled. Being unwisely dispossessed of their lands, many of the Tano were forced to join the Tewa, particularly those of San Juan. For a while comparative quiet prevailed, the missions were rehabilitated, and new frailes were provided; but disaffection again arose in the Indian ranks, and,

notwithstanding the warning of the missionaries, practically no steps were taken to avert another revolt, which began on June 4, 1696, by the massacre of Fray José de Arvizu of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro, and four other missionaries. Expeditions were sent against them with the usual result—the Indians were at least nominally again at peace with the Spaniards by the close of the year, but not before Vargas, in October, had captured 84 women and children of San Juan and Picurís (among whom were probably some Tano allies), distributing them as servants among his soldiers. By the middle of the following year, even the outlying tribes as far as Zufí had professed allegiance.

About this time, and perhaps earlier, some Tano, especially those of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro, evidently went to live among the Hopi in Arizona. Early in 1697, Santa Cruz de Galisteo was resettled by some Tano (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 221), but it would seem that the Indians did not remain, for the pueblo (renamed Santa María) was reestablished by Governor Cuerdo y Valdés in 1706, with 18 Tano families (90 souls), who had been living at Tesuque. Thus were the Tano, two of whose villages, according to Vetancurt, numbered 1,400 inhabitants prior to the revolt, scattered to the winds. Today there are a few Indians at Santo Domingo who recognize their Tano descent, but as an ethnic group the Tano are extinct. See Nelson, "Archaeology of the Tano District," and *idem*, "Chronology of the Tano Ruins." A brief note on each of the historical Tano villages follows:

Galisteo (native name, *Tagewinge*, or, according to Harrington, *T'anuge'-oñwiheji*, "down-country place pueblo ruin"). Situated a mile and a half northeast of the present hamlet of the same name, 22 miles south of Santa Fe. A convent was established at Galisteo prior to 1612. Among the friars who served there in the early years were Fray Bernardo de Marta, 1614; Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta, 1616; Fray Pedro de Ortega, 1619; Fray Pedro Zambrano, 1621-32; Fray Antonio de Aranda, 1640; Fray Cristóbal de Velasco, 1657; Fray Nicolás del Villar, 1661; Fray Antonio de Ibargaray, 1663-65; Fray Pedro de Villegas, 1665; and Fray Juan Bernal, 1672. The pueblo was named San Lucas by Castaño de Sosa in 1591, and Santa Ana by Oñate in 1598, but the name Santa María de Galisteo was noted by Cuervo (Bancroft, *Ariz. and New Mex.*, p. 228) in 1706, and at the same time the mission name was changed to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. In c. 1641, it had a good church and convent, with San Cristóbal as its *visita*, and having a population of 1,000 under its jurisdiction. In 1680, it contained 800 neophytes, had a church and a resident priest who ministered also to San Cristóbal and its *visita*. This was doubtless the church and convent among the Tano to which Benavides alludes. On the outbreak of the Pueblo revolt, August 10, 1680, the natives killed their missionary, Fray Juan Domingo de Vera, besides the father custodian, Fray Juan Bernal (who resided at Galisteo), the missionaries of San Marcos and Pecos, and several Spanish citizens. (For Galisteo during the revolt, see above.) In 1712, its population was 110; in 1749, it numbered 350, but it was later decimated by smallpox and the hostility of the Comanche, combined probably with the natives of Pecos and some of the Queres tribes. In 1760, the mission was made a *visita* of Pecos; by 1782, its population had dwindled to 52, and by 1793 the remnant of the tribe abandoned its

pueblo and moved to Santo Domingo where their descendants now reside. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 88, 101 *et seq.*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, *passim*, and authorities therein cited; Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, p. 213, and especially the papers by C. W. Hackett, N. C. Nelson, and France Scholes cited at the close of this note.

San Marcos (Tewa name *Kunyāōñwikeji*, "turquoise pueblo ruin," according to Harrington; Queres name, *Yaatzé*). Situated 18 miles southwest of Santa Fe. Some early authorities say that San Marcos was inhabited by Queres, but Bandelier asserts that the aboriginal inhabitants were Tano, although there may have been Queres among them. San Marcos was at first a *visita* of Galisteo, apparently. The first mention of a convent there is in 1638, when Fray Agustín de Cuéllar was guardian. He was still there in 1640. The convent was not yet finished in c. 1641, and the church was but an ordinary one. At that time, San Lázaro and La Ciénega were its *visitas*, and it had 777 Indians under its jurisdiction. In 1680, with 600 neophytes, it had the same *visitas*.

Among other friars at San Marcos were Fray Diego de Santander, 1662; Fray Bernardo López de Covarrubias, 1663-64; Fray Pedro de Villegas, 1665; Fray Tomás de Torres, 1668-69; and Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, 1672.

The saint name of San Marcos was originally given by Castaño de Sosa in 1591. The church was destroyed during the insurrection of 1680, the missionary, Padre Manuel Tinoco, killed while at Galisteo, and the pueblo permanently abandoned. The people of San Marcos joined the Queres of Cochiti during the revolt and may possibly have become permanently affiliated with them or with those of Santo Domingo. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 125; pt. II, p. 92; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, *passim*; and the works cited below.

San Lázaro (native name, *Ip-e-re*, according to Bandelier, but Harrington was not able to verify this name nor to learn any other Tewa name for the pueblo). Situated 12 miles southwest of Lamy station, on the eastern slope of the Sierra del Real de Dolores, on the southern bank of the Arroyo del Chorro. There is mention of a convent at San Lázaro in 1613, with Fray Andrés Perguer as guardian, but this convent was not maintained. In 1621, it was a *visita* of Galisteo. After the founding of the convent of San Marcos (by 1638), San Lázaro became a *visita* of this convent, but between 1680 and 1692 its inhabitants deserted it, transferring their settlement to the vicinity of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, near San Juan, and applying the same name—*Ipere*. This was abandoned in 1692, but was subsequently reoccupied; it was again deserted in 1694, the occupants being scattered among the Tewa villages and some of them evidently going to the Hopi of Arizona. See Bandelier in *Archaeol. Inst. Papers*, I, p. 22; also *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 83, 105; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 185, 214, and the works cited below.

San Cristóbal (native name *Yamp'hamba*, according to Bandelier, which probably signifies "narrow belt of willows," according to Harrington). The history of this pueblo is practically identical with that of its neighbor, San Lázaro. It was first named San Cristóbal in 1591 by Castaño de Sosa, who was followed by Oñate seven years later when the names previously mentioned (see above, under Tano) were given.

The available mission history of San Cristóbal indicates that work was being carried on there in 1621 and probably earlier and that Fray Pedro de Vergara was there in 1621. Seven years later, Fray Alonso de Estremera was guardian of the convent of San Cristóbal, but apparently it was not maintained. In later years, there were only two convents among the Tano, at Galisteo and San Marcos, San Cristóbal having become a *visita* of Galisteo.

After being dispossessed of their lands at Santa Cruz de la Cañada by the establishment of the town of that name, April 12, 1695, many of the inhabitants of the new San Cristóbal were scattered among the Tewa villages, particularly San Juan, and some of them probably joined the Hopi of Arizona. In the rebellion of the Pueblos in 1696, the remaining San Cristóbal Indians murdered their missionary, Fray José de Arvizu, on June 4, and fled with the Tewa, but surrendered to Vargas in the following October.

Ciénega (native name *Tziguma*, signifying "lone cottonwood tree," according to Bandelier). This village, which was situated on the site of the present Alamo Solo, 12 miles southwest of Santa Fe, was a *visita* of San Marcos in c. 1641 and at the time of the revolt of 1680, when, or shortly after, it was abandoned. An attempt was made to resettle the pueblo in 1695, but with little success, the fate of its inhabitants doubtless being the same as that of their kindred. It was uninhabited in 1749. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 125; pt. II, pp. 91-92; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, *passim*, and the works cited below.

Bandelier regards Benavides' estimate of 4,000 Tano to be reasonable, "although probably a little above the true number." For further information regarding this people, and the other villages which they probably occupied both in prehistoric times and during the early part of the Spanish régime, see Bandelier in Ritch, *Illustrated New Mexico*, p. 201; *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 123 *et seq.*; pt. II, pp. 83, 87 *et seq.*; *Gilded Man*, p. 284; also Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 322, 324; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, *passim*, and the numerous works and documents therein cited; Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*; J. P. Harrington, *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*; Twitchell, *Leading Facts*; Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*; *idem*, "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions," in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, iv, pp. 45-58. For an account of archaeological excavations conducted by the American Museum of Natural History, of New York, in several of the Tano ruins, see N. C. Nelson's works, "Pueblo Ruins of the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico," "Archaeology of the Tano District," and "Chronology of the Tano Ruins."

84. From time immemorial the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande valley have mined turquoise, or *chalchihuite*, as it is commonly called (from the Aztec, *chalchihuitl*), the chief deposits being in the Cerrillos mountains ("Mount Chalchihuitl," especially), southwest of Santa Fe, where many of the ancient rude stone hammers and mauls have been found. Turquoise has also been obtained in other parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and California. It is still very highly prized and to some degree is regarded as sacred. From prehistoric times, turquoise has been ground and drilled for pendants and beads, and beautiful

examples of mosaic, sometimes combined with other materials (shell, wood, lignite, etc.) were and are still fashioned. Half a century ago the native turquoise of New Mexico was in much less demand, but with the stimulation of silverworking and the increasing use of the stone for settings from about the year 1900, especially by the Navaho, it has almost become "legal tender" among the Southwestern tribes, whereas formerly a mouthful was regarded as worth twenty-five cents. For full information regarding turquoise, consult Pogue, J. E., "The Turquoise," *Memoirs National Academy of Sciences*, XII, pt. 2, 3d mem., with extended bibliography; Hodge, "Turquoise Work of Hawikuh, New Mexico," *Leaflets of the Museum of American Indian, Heye Fdn.*, no. 2; Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*; Woodward, *A Brief History of Navajo Silversmithing*; Watkins, *The Navaho*. For the use of turquoise in Mexico, see Saville, "Turquoise Mosaic Art in Ancient Mexico," *Contr. from the Museum of the American Indian*, vi.

85. Pecos (from *Paequiú*, or *Paequiula*, the native name of the tribe. One of the Isleta names of the pueblo is *Sikuyé*, whence the Cicuique, Cicuyé, Acuique, Cicuic, etc., of the first Spanish chroniclers). This pueblo, which was once the most populous in all New Mexico, was situated near the Rio Pecos, 18 miles southeast of Santa Fe, in western San Miguel county. It played an important part in the history of the expedition of 1540-42 under Coronado, who first learned of it through a Pecos chief, nicknamed "Bigotes," as a pueblo seventy leagues eastward from Zuñi or Cibola, where Coronado was then encamped. It was first visited by Hernando de Alvarado of Coronado's army, who reached it in five days' travel from Tiguex, which was near the present Bernalillo on the Rio Grande. The Indians received the Spaniards hospitably at first, presenting them with cloth and turquoises, "of which there are quantities in that region"—referring doubtless to the deposits in the Cerrillos which have been mined by the Pueblos from time immemorial, and which in recent years were controlled by a New York corporation (see note 84). Later the Pecos people showed hostility toward the Spaniards on account of unfriendly treatment. Pecos was the last pueblo seen by the army on its way from the Rio Grande to the plains of Quivira, and the first one met on its return. The chroniclers are explicit on this point. Even as late as the time of Vetancurt, who reports on the insurrection of 1680, it was "el paso para los reinos de la Quivira" (*Crónica*, p. 323).

Castañeda's description of Pecos in 1540 is so interesting that it is well worthy of reproduction here: "Cicuye is a pueblo containing about 500 warriors. It is feared throughout that land. It is square, perched on a rock in the center of a vast patio or plaza, with its estufas. [See note 10]. The houses are all alike, four stories high. One can walk on the roofs over the whole pueblo, there being no streets to prevent this. The second terrace is all surrounded with lanes which enable one to circle the whole pueblo. These lanes are like balconies which project out, and under which one may find shelter. The houses have no doors on the ground floor. The inhabitants use movable ladders to climb to the corridors, which are on the inner side of the pueblos. They enter them that way,

as the doors of the houses open into the corridors on this terrace. The corridors are used as streets. The houses facing the open country are back to back with those on the patio, and in time of war they are entered through the interior ones. The pueblo is surrounded by a low stone wall. Inside there is a water spring, which can be diverted from them. [Bandelier observed the spring in 1880.] The people of this town pride themselves because no one has been able to subjugate them, while they dominate the pueblos they wish. The inhabitants [of Cicuye] are of the same type and have the same customs as those in the other pueblos." (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 256-257.)

Fray Luis Descalona, or de Escalona, or de Ubeda, a lay brother belonging to Coronado's small band of frailes, remained at Pecos on the departure of the army for New Spain in 1542, hence he was the first missionary to minister to these villagers, but he was doubtless killed by the natives before the close of the year (see note 48). Antonio de Espejo, in 1583, visited, in a day's journey from the Ubates (see note 83), the province of the "Tamos" which contained, according to his narrative, three large pueblos, one of which was Cicuique, with an aggregate population of 40,000 (Espejo's population figures are always greatly exaggerated). It is possible that the other two villages forming Espejo's Tamos province belonged to the Tano, who joined the Pecos on the southwest. In the winter of 1590-91, the Pecos Indians were visited by Castaño de Sosa, whose narrative affords little information on account of its indefiniteness; but in 1598, Oñate, the colonizer of New Mexico, visited the province of Pecos, referring to it as the one which Espejo called the "province of Tamos," and naming Pecos pueblo Santiago.

At this time, Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned to minister to the spiritual welfare of the tribe as well as to that of the Indians of the Salinas, the Jumano, and the Vaqueros of the plains; but it is not probable that churches were erected at any of these settlements until some years later (see note 68). It seems that Juan de Dios, a lay brother of Oñate's force, lived at Pecos, where he learned the language; but it is likely that he and Fray Francisco returned to Mexico with most of the other friars during Oñate's absence on the plains in 1601. Thereafter the earliest reference to a friar is to Fray Pedro Zambrano, guardian of Pecos, in 1619. He was succeeded by Fray Pedro Ortega, who was guardian in 1621. Ortega, in turn, was succeeded by Fray Andrés Suárez, either in 1621 or 1622, and he served at Pecos until 1633, at least. He was at Nambé in 1635. The Pecos church was building as early as 1621; most of the work was probably done by Suárez, so Benavides correctly gives him credit for it. Fray Domingo del Espíritu Santo was missionary at Pecos in 1635, Fray Antonio de Ibargaray in 1636, Fray Juan González in 1661, Fray Nicolás de Enríquez in 1666, Fray Juan Bernal in 1670, and Fray Luis de Morales in 1672. In c. 1641, Pecos was reported to have "a very good church, . . . an organ and choir"; its population was 1189. In 1666, it was served by two friars.

At the time of the revolt of 1680, Pecos was accredited with more than two thousand souls (the same as given by Benavides in 1630); it had a fine church with six towers, dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los

Angeles de Porciúncula. Its resident priest was then Fray Fernando (not Francisco, as Vetancurt has it) de Velasco, who was killed by his own Indians who had followed him nearly to Galisteo, whither he was going to warn his companions on the day of the general uprising, August 10, 1680. The Pecos Indians otherwise actively participated in the insurrection, destroying their church and joining other hostiles in the siege of Santa Fe.

When Vargas entered Pecos during his journey of conquest in September, 1692, he found the pueblo deserted, but the Indians submitted to pacification by the middle of October and returned to their homes. The Comanche made their appearance in New Mexico about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Pecos suffered so severely from their depredations as well as from disease, in subsequent years, that by 1749 the population numbered only 1,000, and by 1760 it was reduced to 600 (including Galisteo). In 1792, the pueblo, with only 152 inhabitants, being no longer deemed of sufficient importance to maintain a resident priest, became a *visita* of the mission of Santa Fe. By 1797, the population increased to 189, but it soon declined again. In 1895, the writer was informed at Jemez by José Miguel Péco (called Zu-wá-ng' in his own tongue), now deceased, that at the time when Governor Albino Pérez was murdered (in August, 1837), he and the other survivors of his tribe still lived at Pecos, but in the following year they abandoned their crumbling village and departed for Jemez (Benavides' "Hemes"), whose inhabitants were their nearest kindred, a fact which Benavides recognized. The Jemez-Pecos dialect of the Tanoan linguistic stock has been designated Towa (see note 23). One of the natives of Pecos (since deceased) was still living at Jemez in 1899, while the descendants of the five survivors of 1838 are probably relatively numerous.

The Pecos church was still in a fair state of preservation when visited by Emory, August 17, 1846 (*Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, p. 37, pl.). As to its condition in 1880, see Bandelier, "A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos." For additional information, consult Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 127; pt. II, p. 125 *et seq.*; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 323; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*; Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, the narrations and documents of Espejo, Oñate, Luxán, and Castaño de Sosa; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*; *idem*, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*; Hewett, "Studies on the Extinct Pueblo of Pecos," *Amer. Anthropologist*, VI, pp. 426-439; *idem*, "Hispanic Monuments," Santa Fe, 1938; Hewett and Mauzy, *Landmarks of New Mexico*, Santa Fe, 1940. The Department of Archaeology of Phillips Academy has conducted intensive excavations of the ruins of the pueblo under Dr. A. V. Kidder, the results of which have been published in several important volumes by Yale University Press.

86. Santa Fe. The founder of Santa Fe was not Governor Juan de Oñate, as Benavides supposed, but Don Pedro de Peralta, who had been appointed his successor in 1609 by the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco; and the time of the establishment was the spring of 1610, not 1605, as had long been supposed. The founding of the new capital was a result of definite instructions to Peralta, on his arrival in New Mexico, "endeavoring before anything else the foundation and settlement of the

Villa they claim and shall order the same to be made there so people may begin to live there with some cleanliness and stability . . ." (See "Instructions to Peralta by Vice-roy," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, iv, p. 179, *et. seq.*) It was thus that the settlement San Gabriel (see note 22) was abandoned in favor of the new Villa Real de la Santa Fe after Peralta's arrival in New Mexico in January, 1610. The church to which our author refers, and that to which he alludes in his Memorial of 1630 as one that "would shine in whatsoever place," was San Miguel, built especially for the Tlaxcalan Indians of the colony in the *barrio de Analco* (*análco* is a Nahuatl word meaning "on the other side," referring to the other side of the Río de Santa Fe). The "poor hut" mentioned in the original Memorial was a temporary structure, referred to by Rosa Figueroa (Appendix xxiv) as a *xacal*, a "wattle-and-daub" contrivance, otherwise it would hardly have collapsed within the period of fifteen years between the founding of Santa Fe and the coming of Benavides as custodian of the missions in 1625.

Among the friars who served in Santa Fe in the 17th century were Fray Luis Tirado, 1612-16; Fray Bernardo de Aguirre, 1617 and 1622-23; Fray Ascensio de Zárate, 1622; Fray Pedro de Ortega, 1626-29; Fray Tomás de San Diego, 1629-32; Fray Jerónimo de Segovia, 1634-35; Fray Antonio de Ibargaray, 1635; Fray Domingo del Espíritu Santo, 1636-37, and 1641; Fray Juan de Vidania, 1637-41; Fray Antonio de Aranda, 1639; Fray Antonio Pérez, 1641; Fray Juan Juárez, 1643; Fray Nicolás Hidalgo, 1643; Fray Miguel de Sacristán, 1659 and earlier; Fray Diego Rodríguez, 1659 or 1660; Fray Nicolás de Freitas, 1661; Fray Miguel de Guevara, 1662; Fray Nicolás de Enriquez, 1663-64; Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, 1665-69, 1679-80; Fray Juan del Hierro, 1672.

We shall not enter here into a discussion of the history of Santa Fe, interesting though it is, for the reason that the results of the researches by historians during the last relatively few years, based in large measure on Spanish documents that had not hitherto been available, are now readily accessible to students. Furthermore, much of the early history of Santa Fe, particularly that of the period of the great Pueblo revolt of 1680-92, is reviewed in preceding notes.

For authorities, see Works Consulted under Abert, Bancroft, Bandelier, Bloom, Bolton, Candelaria, Davis, Forrest, Gregg, Hackett, Hammond, James, Kubler, Magoffin, Pino, Prince, Read, Ritch, Scholes, Sigüenza y Góngora, Sister Mary Loyola, Thomas, Twitchell, Vetancurt, Wagner, Webb, Von Wuthenau, and Zárate Salmerón.

87. For the Teoas (Tewa), see paragraph iv and note 22.

88. The natives of the Tewa pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros are here referred to.

89. The name of this priest is not mentioned in the Memorial of 1630, although his services for the Indians are referred to.

90. Hemes. A still important pueblo of the Towa' division of the Tanoan family on a small river of the same name, a western tributary of the Río Grande, in Sandoval county, New Mexico. This is the Jemez tribe, so called by early Spaniards from their own name, *Hémish* (*he*,

of obscure etymology; *mish*, plural; "Jemez people"). Their own name for their village is *Walatowa*, signifying "at the pueblo in the cañada," referring to Jemez cañada, or cañon, according to J. P. Harrington. It should not be confounded with Valladolid, one of the early Spanish names for Taos. The Pecos name is *He'-wá'*.

Castañeda, one of the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition, wrote repeatedly of seven "Hemes" pueblos in 1541, which were visited by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo, in addition to three others (doubtless including Giusewá, Unshágií, and Amúshungkwa) in the province of Aguas Calientes, identified with the Jemez Hot Springs. Espejo, in 1583, mentioned the province of the Emeges, Emexes, Ameies, Amejes, etc., six leagues northwest of his province of Punames, or Cunames (the Sia group of villages), containing seven pueblos, but he did not visit any of them, according to Luxán, a member of the expedition. In 1598, Oñate heard of eleven (no doubt including those of the Hot Springs), but saw only eight of the "Emmes" or "Emes" towns, yet he gives a list of seven, one of which seems to have been Sia or Tsia. The names of these occur twice, and partly in order that it may be seen with what difficulties students must contend in endeavoring to harmonize some of the early Spanish names of tribes and settlements with those given by the Indians today, both of Oñate's lists as printed are presented: I.—1, Yxcaguayo; 2, Quiamera; 3, Fía; 4, Quiusta; 5, Leeca; 6, Poze; 7, Fiapuzi; 8, Triyti; 9, Caatri. II.—1, Yjar; 2, Guayoguia; 3, Mecastría; 4, Quiustá; 5, Ceca; 6, Potre; 7, Trea; 8, Guatitriti; 9, Catróo. So different are the two lists, either through direct change in spelling or by combination of a part of one name with part of another, that they do not at first appear to be intended for the same pueblos. Indeed, even Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 207), of exceptional astuteness in the identification of such names, numerates them as seventeen (eighteen) distinct villages. But let us turn to the original manuscript, in which we find these village names recorded as: 1, Yxcaguayo and Yjar Guayo; 2, Quiameca Tzia and Quiamecá Tzia [*Tzia*, if not, indeed, the whole name, is obviously *Tzia*, *Sia*]; 3, Quiusta (probably an error for Giusewá); 4, Ceeca; 5, Potze; 6, Guatitzeiti (?) and Tzyiti; 7, Caatzo and Catzoho.

The names of the villages formerly occupied by the Jemez, so far as Bandelier and the present writer have been able to record them, each after two brief visits (the latter in 1895 and 1899), are: Giusewá (where San José church was built; Bandelier's Gin-se-ua, Guin-se-ua (both misprints); Zárate Salmerón's Quiumziqua, Qicinzigua, etc.; 12 beams from the church revealed tree-rings dating about 1625; see Stallings, below.), Amúshungkwa (Bandelier's Amoxiumqua, Amo-shium-qua; S's Amoxun-qua; a house-beam dates about 1505, which is prehistoric, Astialakwá (given to me by the Jemez as the name of one of the pueblos where a church was built; B's. Asht-ia-la-qua, Asht-ya-laqua; Loew's Ateyala-keokvá); Anúkwinu (B's. Añu-quil-i-gui?); Bülitzikwá (B's. Bul-itze-qua); Kiatsúkwa (B's. Quia-tzo-qua, roof-beams from which have been dated for the years 1614-16); Séshukwa (B's. Seshiu-qua, a beam from which is dated 1598); Wábakwá (not given by B.; the ruins are north of the present Jemez); Hanakwá (B's. Ham-a-qua); Nokyuntseletá (B's. Nocum-tzil-e-ta); Ostyalakwa (distinct from Astialakwa; B's. Osht-ya-la);

Patokwá (B's. Patoqua, Loew's Batokvá); Pékwiligií (B's. Pe-cuil-a-gui); Pébulikwá (B's. Pem-bul-e-qua); Kiashíta (B's. Quia-shi-dshi); Sétokwa (2 miles south of Jemez, B's. Se-to-qua); Towakwá (B's. To-ua-qua; cf. Túwa, a native name of the present pueblo); Unshágií, whose beams bear tree-rings dating 1402-1605; Nonyí'shágií; Tyásoliwa; Kwastiyukwa (these four not recorded by B.); Zolátuñezhií (B's. Zolatesedjii).

In addition, Bandelier records the names Ta-juin-den-a and Uā-hā-tza-e (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 207), which I did not note. Amushung-kwa was occupied in historical times, as excavations in this ruin, situated on the great mesa west of the Rio Jemez, a short distance southwest of the Hot Springs, conducted in 1911, brought to light objects of European manufacture, although a single roof-beam from this ruin has been dated about 1505, which alone means little. An intelligent Jemez, one of several informants, suggested that (Oñate's) "Quiustá" might have been intended for Giutsutá, the name of a mesa near Jemez, but it seems just as likely to be a misprint or a misunderstanding of Giusewá. This last name is said to signify "hot place," in allusion to the adjacent thermal springs.

The first missionary assigned to the Jemez was Padre Fray Alonso de Lugo, a member of Oñate's band who had the spiritual welfare also of the Apache (Benavides' "Apache de Navaho") and the unidentified Cocoyes, under his care. Lugo is said to have resided among the Jemez for a time, and he may have built a temporary church, but at which pueblo is unknown. After Lugo's departure from New Mexico in 1601, a lay brother is said to have continued the instruction of the Indians, but evidently this mission was abandoned before the coming of Governor Pedro de Peralta in 1610.

The first important resident Franciscan among the Jemez was Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who went to New Mexico with Fray Miguel de Chavarría, the new custodian, in the fall of 1621 and to whom is attributed the founding of the mission of San José at the pueblo of Giusewá near the hot springs. As Benavides states, after the establishment of that mission, Zárate Salmerón brought together the Jemez "mountaineers" and settled them in a new pueblo "in a suitable place," but it evidently was abandoned and the church burned in 1623, incident to the evil influence of Governor Eulate, the Indians returning to their less-settled life. Zárate Salmerón, who left New Mexico in 1626, reported that he had baptized 6,566 Jemez Indians alone and prepared a catechism in their language. Fray Martín de Arvide (see paragraph XLII and notes 72-73), then missionary to Piro, was assigned to the Jemez (in 1626 or 1628), and, as Benavides announces, reassembled a good many of the Indians and founded anew the pueblo that had been destroyed, with more than three hundred houses and a fine church that was dedicated "to the Glorious San Diego."

It is due to the historical studies of Bloom and Scholes, who fortunately have had at their command early Spanish documents not hitherto available, that the puzzling question of the identification of the Jemez missions and the pueblos at which they were established has now been answered. The identification of San José with Giusewá and the deter-

mination of the site of San Diego as that of modern Jemez are among the results of their studies.

As San José was not mentioned after Benavides' time, whereas San Diego was often referred to as if it were the only Jemez mission, up to the time of the revolt of 1680, it is probable that the former was abandoned between 1632 and 1639, unless, as Scholes suggests, it may have been a *visita* of San Diego de la Congregación. Bloom states that Amushunkwá on the high mesa was probably a *visita* of San José in 1622. In 1639, Fray Diego de San Lucas was killed by Navaho and was succeeded by Fray Juan del Campo, probably in 1640, but at which Jemez pueblo or pueblos these were stationed is not revealed, although in all likelihood it was San Diego. In a document of 1641, revealed by Scholes, "the pueblo of Jemez" is reported as having "a splendid church, a good convent, a choir and organ, and 1,860 souls under its administration." From 1643 to 1653, hostility by the Jemez toward the Spaniards resulted in the execution of a number of the Indians. In 1660, San Diego de la Congregación again comes to light, with Fray Nicolás de Chaves as resident missionary; and in 1661, Fray Miguel Sacristán was guardian of San Diego de la Congregación (but who hanged himself in June of that year), with Fray Diego de Pliego, a lay brother, and seems to have been succeeded by Fray Salvador de Guerra. Various documents revealed by Scholes and used also by Bloom show that San Diego continued through 1672. Earlier, Fray Alonso de Posada was at San Diego in 1656, Fray Tomás de Alvarado in 1669, and Fray Tomás de Torres in 1672.

When the great revolt broke out on August 10, 1680, the Jemez killed, at San Diego, Fray Juan de Jesús, one of their two missionaries, the other, Fray Francisco Muñoz, escaping to Sia, where he was rescued. On the reappearance of Governor Otermín in 1681, the Jemez fled to the heights, but soon returned; probably in 1688 they again abandoned their village or villages and went to the mesa, and in 1692 they were found by Vargas inhabiting an extensive fortified pueblo on a mesa summit, three leagues above their pueblo of San Diego, which they had abandoned. Vargas reached Jemez on his second expedition in November, 1693, finding the Indians still on the mesa-top and San Diego yet uninhabited. The Indians begged Vargas for permission to remain, telling him that they had chosen a good site for a church and convent. The general was visited by Jemez in his camp at San Diego who informed him that some of their people were in a pueblo on the last mesa of that "mountain," which Bloom reasonably identifies with Amushung-kwá, and they occupied other pueblos where they wished to remain as a defense against Navaho raids, but would return to San Diego in the spring, where there were good farm lands. To this Vargas assented.

In 1694, mention is made of "two pueblos of the two mesas"—evidently Astialakwá on the upper height, Patokwá on the lower—which the Indians abandoned after another revolt. In July of the same year, Vargas marched against them with 50 soldiers and some Indian allies, attacking the Jemez on their first mesa (presumably the lower one), capturing 361 women and children and many supplies, but the captives were later released on condition that the Jemez would return to their valley pueblo of San Diego and would aid in defeating the other enemy

tribes. The church that Vargas had planned here (Patokwá) had not been built. The pueblo was burned on August 2. Returning to the old pueblo (San Diego), Vargas had the remains of Fray Juan de Jesús disinterred and removed to Santa Fe, reaching there on August 10, exactly fourteen years from the outbreak of the first rebellion.

Returning to Jemez in September, Vargas met "four rebel captains" (two of them Jemez) who were living on the "Mesa of San Juan." They made peace when the general sent word that they must descend. Vargas had with him a friar (Fray Francisco de Jesús María) who was to reside at San Diego. Proceeding to the mesa pueblo again and finding the Jemez in peaceful mood, he stated that as the people had as advocate the titular saint, San Diego, he gave to the pueblo the said saint and called the mesa "of San Diego de al monte y Nuestra Señora de los Remedios." The saint name of the pueblo in the valley below was therefore applied also to the mesa itself, on which the villages of Patokwá and Astialakwá had stood. Fray Francisco de Jesús was assigned to the lower pueblo (Patokwá), where a small church, the walls of which are still visible, was built. The upper mesa at this time was called Mesa de San Juan, on which was "the newly added pueblo," evidently Astialakwá, although Patokwá has generally been regarded as San Juan. By the spring of 1695, the refugees were brought from the mesa of San Juan to their old pueblo, which for a short time was known as San Juan de los Jemez, in charge of Fray Miguel Tirzio. Fray Francisco de Jesús still ministered to the pueblo of San Diego de los Jemez on the mesa, protected by four soldiers.

But the Jemez, ever difficult to control, were not averse to joining the other Pueblos in revolt in the summer of 1696. In this uprising Fray Francisco, the missionary at San Diego del Monte, was clubbed to death while alone, and other Spaniards there were also murdered; then they abandoned their village and retreated to the upper mesa. A punitive expedition against them resulted in the loss of thirty-two warriors, but on their defeat the remainder fled to various pueblos, including even the Hopi, some to the Navaho country. "Some fled at first only to the pueblo of the mesa of San Juan," three leagues north of the peñol; to this retreat fled also some of the Jemez who now abandoned the San Juan mission. Some of those who joined the Navaho were still with them when Roque de Madrid made an expedition against them in 1705. In this connection see Kidder, *Ruins of the Historic Period in the Upper San Juan Valley*, in which the author very reasonably attributes these ruins to the Jemez, who seemingly went to the Navaho country in later years, there building pueblo houses. See also Stallings, cited below, who lists the dates of beams from pueblo ruins in the same cañon ranging from about 1700 to about 1752, and from other ruins in the San Juan drainage from about 1723 to 1754.

Finally, in 1706, more survivors of San Diego del Monte and San Juan de los Jemez were reestablished at San Diego, where the present Jemez stands, but not until a decade later did those who had fled to the Hopi return. Interesting is an account of the state of the mission in 1706, produced by Hackett (*Hist. Docs.*, III, p. 376), which states that "In the mission of San Diego, composed of Xemes . . . Indians . . . is Father

Fray Agustín de Colina. There is no bell, and only one old ornament and an old missal; there are no vials. The church is being built. There are about three hundred Christian Indians . . . and others keep coming down from the mountains,, where they are still in insurrection."

The quondam friends of the Jemez soon became their old-time enemies again, for in June, 1709, Jemez was raided by the semi-nomadic Navaho, suffering much. In 1714, the depredations were repeated, and ten years later the Yute, or Ute, took a hand in the same disastrous business. Yet these were not to be the only troubles of the unfortunate Jemez, for in 1728 pestilence carried off 108 of the already diminished tribe; and when in 1780-81, more than 5,000 Pueblos succumbed to an epidemic of smallpox, the Jemez suffered with the rest and many of the Pueblo villages became so reduced in population that several of the active missions, including that of Jemez (which had retained the old mission name of San Diego), became mere *visitas*. In this way Jemez was ministered to by the missionary of Sia after 1782. Jemez contained 574 inhabitants in 1749, 485 in 1793, and 650 in 1860; in 1890, 428 remained, but by 1940 the population had increased to 738. These include the descendants of the Pecos tribe, the remnant of which went to Jemez in 1838. Benavides' estimate of 3,000 for the two Jemez mission pueblos in 1630 (see the Memorial of that date) was probably a reasonable one. For information on the Jemez, see the Works Consulted under Alexander, Bancroft, Bandelier, Bloom, Bolton, Curtis, Hackett, Hammond and Rey, Hewett, Hodge, Holmes, Kubler, Loew, Luxán, Parsons, Reagan, Reiter, Scholes, Stallings, Twitchell, Walter, Winship, and Zárate Salmerón.

91. See note 73.

92. See note 4. Such trophies were not uncommon among North American Indians, but it may be well doubted that they were eaten, as Benavides asserts.

93. Picuries. From *Pikuria*, the Queres name of the pueblo, now popularly spelled Picurís. The native (Tigua) name of the village is Pinueltá. A pueblo of the northern division of the Tigua (Benavides' Tioas) on a stream of the same name, an eastern tributary of the Río Grande, 18 miles southwest of Taos, in Taos county. Although there is no definite mention that Picurís was visited by members of Coronado's army, it is asserted that Alvarado visited Taos in 1540, and Barrionuevo in 1541, consequently it is likely that Picurís also was seen by the latter, at least. The village is mentioned by Castañeda, under the name Acha, as situated 40 leagues (106 miles) north or east of Tiguex (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 254). Picurís was first referred to under that name by Juan de Oñate, who visited the "Gran pueblo de los Picuries" on July 13, 1598, and applied to it the name San Buenaventura in honor of the day (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 257).

The mission of San Lorenzo was established at Picurís by Fray Martín de Arvide, who went to New Mexico with Custodian Chavarria in 1621, and who, later, assumed the task of missionizing the Jemez (see paragraph XLII and notes 72-73). As Benavides later states, the Picurís people were in a state of rebellion and "for several years refused to

receive a religious," but in 1628 he stationed there Fray Andrés de Zea, who later was succeeded by Fray Ascensio de Zárate (note 95). Zárate was at Picurís in 1629 and died there on December 13, 1632. This seems to be the only time that Zea is mentioned in connection with missionary labors in New Mexico. The reader of the Memorial of 1630 is left to surmise which of the missionaries at Picurís the Lord rendered invisible when the Indians "entered to lay hands on him," but he is revealed as Fray Ascensio in this revision, which does not refer, however, to the invisibility of the friar when the Indians so cruelly dragged him around!

Other friars who served at Picurís were Fray Juan de Vidania, 1637; Fray Francisco Muñoz (the second of this name), 1660; Fray Juan Lobato, 1661; and Fray Antonio de Sierra, 1671-1672.

From Oñate's statement and Benavides' estimate of a population of more than 2,000 for Picurís, it must have been of considerable importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet in c. 1641, it was reported to have had only 564 neophytes, which may have referred only to those who had been baptized. In 1666, there were two friars and the population was increasing. Benavides' figure is evidently not overestimated, since Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 318) ascribes 3,000 to the pueblo before the revolt of 1680; twenty years before this time it had a fine church and a resident priest, Fray Francisco Muñoz. Its inhabitants took a prominent part in the revolt, one of the natives of the town being Luis Tupatú, who was a leading instigator of the plot and who was twice chosen as Popé's successor during the twelve years of Pueblo independence. They killed their missionary, Fray Matías de Rendón, on the fatal 10th of August, and joined the Taos and Tewa in the siege of Santa Fe. They readily submitted to Vargas on October 5, 1692, but again arose in rebellion with other Pueblos in 1694, Vargas finding Picurís abandoned when he visited it early in July of that year. Its inhabitants were reduced to submission again in the following year, but their hatred of the Spaniards continued, and on June 2, 1696, the Picurís, together with the other northern Pueblos, once more rebelled, killing five missionaries and twenty-one other Spaniards, and abandoning their villages. Fearing the destruction of their crops, the Picurís and the Tewa of San Juan feigned a desire for peace later on, but Vargas, learning of their duplicity, proceeded against them on October 26 and captured 84 women and children whom he distributed as servants among his soldiers. This proceeding appears to have resulted in a desire, this time unfeigned, for peace on the part of these Indians, and the succession of revolts, so far as they were concerned, came to an end.

After the revolt of 1696, many of the Picurís abandoned their village and fled to the plains, about 350 miles northeast of Santa Fe, where they established themselves at a place called El Cuartelejo, or Cuartelejo. Here they remained until 1706 when they were induced to return by Sargento-Mayor Juan de Uribarri at the instance of Governor Francisco Cuerdo y Valdés. During these years, in a land totally different from that to which they had been accustomed, there is little doubt that the Picurís gained an infusion of Jicarilla Apache blood, and perhaps that of other Plains Indians. An interesting contemporary report (Hackett, *Hist.*

Docs., III, p. 374) notes the fact that in January, 1706, the church had "no minister, bell, or ornament. The church is very small, and is administered from the pueblo of San Juan, ten leagues distant, by the father preacher, Fray Pedro Mata. There are about three hundred Christian persons, and others keep coming in who have been among the Apaches. This mission is called San Lorenzo de Pecuries." In 1744 and 1754, there was a resident priest.

The location of El Cuartelejo has been determined beyond reasonable doubt by Prof. S. W. Williston and Mr. H. T. Martin, of the University of Kansas, the latter of whom excavated the mounds that alone marked the site. These were found in northern Scott county, Kansas, 12 miles north from Scott City and about 10 miles south of Smoky Hill river. A paper on the subject by Professor Williston was published in the *Kansas University Quarterly* for January, 1899, and a joint article by Professor Williston and Mr. Martin appears in the *Transactions* of the Kansas State Historical Society, VIII, pp. 124-130. Several quotations in the article from historical sources attribute Cuartelejo to the Taos Indians, which is quite true, but to these should be added the reference by Bandelier (*Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Amer. Ser., v, pp. 181-183) to the effect that the Picuris also fled to the Cuartelejo at the date previously given. The Williston-Martin article is of great interest and importance in the present connection; it is not illustrated, but from photographs kindly furnished by the authors it is readily seen that the remains are those of a pueblo built by New Mexican Indians who had adapted themselves to the local environment; and the only explanation of this intrusive structure in a country where only earth and grass lodges were customarily used by the aborigines is that it was the Cuartelejo of New Mexico annals. The distance given in the documents accords with that shown by modern maps. In this connection, however, should be noted the findings of Dr. A. B. Thomas (*After Coronado, 1696-1727*, p. 19), who locates Cuartelejo in either western Kiowa or southern Lincoln county, Kansas, or approximately one hundred miles southeast of Scott county. See also *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, by Charles W. Hackett, especially vol. III.

The Indian population of Picuris in 1749 was 322; in 1760, 328, since which time it has gradually diminished to 112 in 1940 and 117 in 1944.

In addition to the works cited above, see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, *passim*, with the numerous documents cited therein; Escalante, *Carta*, 1778, transl. in *Land of Sunshine*, XII, pp. 247, 309; Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercurio Volante*; and also the works of Hackett, Scholes, Parsons, Thomas, and Curtis cited in the Works Consulted.

94. See note 73.

95. Fray Ascensio de Zárate died at his mission of Picuris in 1632 and was buried there, but on May 8, 1759, his remains were removed to Santa Fe and on August 31 were reinterred in the Parroquia, as indicated by a tablet. He served as vice-custodian from October, 1622, to December, 1625. See Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 318; Defouri, *Martyrs of New Mexico*, p. 72; Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 84. See paragraph

XLVIII for Zárate's labors among the "Apaches of Quinia," and paragraph 1 for his work among the Jumano.

96. Taos. A corruption of Tō-wí, the Tewa name of the pueblo. The Taos (Tiwa) name of their village is Tūatá, also *Yā'hlá'haimub' áhūtúlba*, "Red willow place"; that of the inhabitants *Tainame*, or *Tainamu*, signifying "willow people." This is a Tigua village, as Benavides intimates, situated on the Taos river, 55 miles northeast of Santa Fe, in Taos county. It is thus the northernmost Indian pueblo in New Mexico, and was so recognized by the earliest Spanish explorers. Of what unquestionably was Taos, Castañeda says: "Twenty leagues farther up the river there was a large and powerful river—I mean pueblo—called Braba, and which our men named Valladolid. The river flowed through the center of it, and the river was spanned by wooden bridges built with very large and heavy square pine timbers. At this pueblo there were seen the largest and finest estufas that had been found in all that land. They had twelve pillars, each one two arms' length around and two estados high. This pueblo had been visited by Hernando de Alvarado when he discovered Cicuye. This land is very high and extremely cold. [Compare Benavides.] The river was deep and had a swift current, without any ford. Captain Barrionuevo turned back from here, leaving all those provinces at peace. (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 244-245.)

Also: "Valladolid is the farthest up the river to the northeast," (*ibid.*, p. 259). The *Relación del Suceso* (*ibid.*, p. 288) says: "This river [Rio Grande] originates at the limits of the settlement north of the slopes of the sierras, where there is a large pueblo, different from the others. It is called Yuraba. It is established as follows: It contains eighteen sections, each occupying as much ground as two lots. The houses are built very close together. They are five or six stories high, three built of mud walls and two or three of wood frame. They become narrower as they rise. On the outside on top of the mud walls each house has its small wooden corridor, one above the other, extending all around. The natives of this pueblo, being in the sierras, do not grow cotton or raise chickens [turkeys]. They wear only cattle [bison] and deer skins. This pueblo has more people than any other in all that land. We reckoned that it must have numbered fifteen thousand souls."

This population is vastly exaggerated. Jaramillo, one of Coronado's captains, corrects the statement of others that Taos (Yuraba, Uraba) was situated on the Rio Grande proper: "Away from it [Rio Grande] in other arroyos which join this one, there are other pueblos. Three of them were, for Indian pueblos, quite worth seeing, particularly one called Chia, another Uraba, and another Cicuique." (*Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.)

Although Taos does not occupy its sixteenth-century site, the conditions are the same now as then, since the little stream still separates the two house-clusters, as described by Castañeda. The ruins of the two house groups of early Spanish times lie a few hundred yards from the present so-called North and South towns, which, like the original settlements, are known respectively as 'Hlauúma and 'Hlaukwíma. Taos was first mentioned under its present name by Juan de Oñate, who visited it, after

leaving Picuris on July 14, 1598, and referred to it as follows: "Este día, despues de missa, pasamos á la provincia de los Táos, que tambien llaman Tayberon, y otras; ay seis leguas por por [*sic*] ser mal camino; llamóse Sant Miguel; y por aquel rumbo qués Norte, quarta del Norueste, no pasamos, adelante, más." (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 257.)

The name is also spelled Tayberin. Thus within half a century the names Braba, Uraba, Yuraba, Valladolid, Taos, San Miguel, Tayberin, and Tayberon were applied to the settlement by the chroniclers of two expeditions. Fray Francisco de Zamora was assigned in 1598 to minister to the Taos Indians, among others, but it is unlikely that he actually engaged in their Christianization.

As mentioned in the text of the Memorial, the first resident friar of Taos, in so far as we know, was Fray Pedro de Ortega, who is said to have founded the Taos mission. He came to New Mexico in 1618 with Governor Eulate, serving first in the Tano area. He was at Pecos in 1621, where he was succeeded, toward the end of that year, or in 1622, by Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez). Fray Pedro became secretary of the Inquisition for Benavides and guardian of Santa Fe in 1626. From this fact it would seem that Ortega's service at Taos did not begin before the end of 1621, or sometime in 1622, and it ended by 1625. The first positive reference to mission work at Taos is of 1622, by which time Ortega was probably there.

According to Benavides, Fray Tomás Carrasco, who came to New Mexico with Benavides in 1625, took over the Taos work in 1627. If this is correct, then there was no friar at Taos in 1626, or we lack his name. Benavides credits Carrasco with finishing the work of baptism and of building the church. He may have remained at Taos until 1629, when Benavides left for Mexico, but we know nothing about his later career except that he returned to Mexico (probably in the 1630's, since we hear no more about him in New Mexico after the departure of Benavides) and died at Puebla in 1662.

Another friar at Taos was Nicolás Hidalgo, who was there in 1638 when he was under investigation by Governor Rosas. The Indians of Taos had accused Hidalgo of sexual crimes, including homosexuality. He was evidently removed, for in 1639 Fray Pedro de Miranda was in charge.

According to Vetancurt, Miranda, together with his guard of two Spanish soldiers, Luis Pacheco and Juan de Estrada, was killed on December 28, 1631. This is correct, except for the date, for Miranda was evidently not murdered till 1639, by which time the Taos Indians had cast off all restraint. Since 1632, in fact, there had been increasing tension between Indians and Spaniards. At the time of the murder, the church and convent of Taos were also destroyed. Such events were very serious for the Spaniards, and in 1641 Governor Flores led a punitive expedition against the pueblo. At this time it was said to have 600 "reduced souls."

We have no documents concerning Taos from the early 1640's to the time of Governor López de Mendizábal (1659-61). The records of the López de Mendizábal period, however, refer to the rebuilding of the Taos church, the friar in charge of this project being Fray Salvador de Guerra (1659-60). But there was conflict between the friars and the governor, and Father Guerra resigned owing to the governor's hostile acts. Guerra was

succeeded at Taos, prior to November, 1660, by Fray Felipe Rodríguez, but we do not know how long he remained. In 1661, the friar was Fray Luis Martínez, and, in 1663, Fray Andrés Durán. In 1672, Fray Antonio de Mora was guardian and was killed there in the general uprising of 1680.

The Taos Indians fled to El Cuartelejo, "on the frontier of Quivira," some time during this period, and it seems likely that this flight occurred during the 1639-41 disturbances which beset the pueblo. Juan de Archuleta later induced the errant Indians to return to their old home.

For authorities, see Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 138, 414; Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, p. 106; Escalante in *Land of Sunshine*, XII, p. 314; Scholes in *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, vols. IV and XIX.

No pueblo took a more prominent part in the great revolt of 1680, for while Popé, the principal instigator of the conspiracy against the Spaniards, was a Tewa of San Juan, the seed of discontent which he sowed fell on fertile soil at Taos, where the rebellion was plotted and which was the home of Jaca, or Jhaka, one of the principal adherents to the Indian cause. At the time of the outbreak, Taos had two resident missionaries, Fray Antonio de Mora and Fray Juan de Pedrosa, both of whom were murdered on August 10, and the church burned. The warriors of the pueblo repaired to Santa Fe, where they joined other northern Indians in the siege of the capital.

During the period of independence from Spanish authority, intertribal dissension arose, the Taos, Queres, and Pecos waging war against the Tano and Tewa. The Ute, finding that the Spaniards had left the country, attacked Taos and the Tewa villages with serious results. Vargas appeared among the northern settlements in September, 1692, when Tupatú (Popé's successor), who had lost all his followers save the Tewa, renewed allegiance. Vargas reached Taos early in October; the people fled, but were induced by Tupatú to return to their homes, when they also treated for peace. This, however, was not for long; insurrection still smoldered in the Indian ranks and by 1694 they were again in open rebellion. On his expedition to the north from Santa Fe in this year, Vargas reached Taos on July 3, finding it deserted, its inhabitants having taken refuge in a cañon where they refused to negotiate for peace until the following year.

As recorded in previous notes, the northern Indians again revolted in 1696, on June 4 of which year five missionaries were killed, including Fray Antonio Carboneli of Taos, who was visiting the new Tano pueblo of San Cristóbal at Cañada de Santa Cruz. In September, Vargas found the Taos again in the cañon not far from their village. Here he attacked them, forcing a surrender on October 8, when they returned to their homes. A new church was begun in 1706, when Fray Francisco Ximénez was in charge, the population of the pueblo being given as 700. In 1744, there were said to be 170 families and two resident priests (Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III).

The series of revolts against Spanish authority were at an end, but their old enemies, the Ute, and their new ones, the Comanche, displayed hostility from time to time, and Taos, being the most northerly pueblo and more exposed to attack from these tribes, probably suffered more than the rest. Especially was this the case in 1716 and 1760, in the latter year the Comanche killing many men and capturing fifty women. From its loca-

tion, Taos became a trading center for the Indians of the plains at least as early as 1754 and its importance as such, together with the fertility of the soil and abundance of water, early attracted colonists to the vicinity who established the town of Fernández de Taos, three miles away. The history of this settlement, although of great interest, does not concern us here.

In January-February, 1847, occurred what is known as the Taos rebellion. Instigated by Mexicans, whose ill-feeling for the Americans had been aroused by the Mexican war, the Taos warriors, on January 17, attacked and cruelly killed Governor Charles Bent and other residents of Fernández de Taos, and, joined by Mexicans, murdered all but one of nine Americans at Turley's mill, twelve miles above. News of the massacre reaching Santa Fe, troops were hastened to the place, which they reached February 3, after several skirmishes on the way. The Indians and Mexicans were fortified in the massive adobe church, built in 1706, which was cannonaded at close range and its walls attacked with axes until its occupants were forced to flee to the nearby pueblo and thence toward the mountains. During the fight, 150 of the insurgents were killed, about a third of this number in their attempt to escape from the pueblo. Fifteen others were afterward executed, and one was shot in attempting to escape. The loss of the Americans was seven killed outright and forty-five wounded, some of the latter, including Captain John Henry K. Burgwin, fatally.

Benavides, it has been seen, accredited Taos with a population of 2,500; in 1680, according to Vetancurt, it contained 2,000, "con algunos españoles." These estimates are sufficiently close to denote the importance of the place in early times. In 1749, the population had dwindled to 341 Indians and 125 Spaniards; in 1760, the number of inhabitants was 505; in 1788, 578; the population declined from 527 in 1809 to 361 in 1850, largely on account of the fatalities resulting from the Taos rebellion of 1847. The population in 1940 was given as 813. Consult the works of Bancroft, Bandelier, Bloom, Burton, Curtis, Garrard, Grant, Hackett, Hammond, Hewett, Kubler, Miller, Murdock, Parsons, Scholes, Sigüenza y Góngora, Twitchell, and Winship, cited in the Works Consulted.

97. Acoma. From the native name *Akóme*, signifying "People of the White Rock," now popularly pronounced *A'-ko-ma*. The aboriginal name of the pueblo is *Ako*. This village of the western branch of the Queres, or Keresan, stock is situated on a rock mesa or peñol, 357 feet in height, about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande, in Valencia county. Benavides states, as loosely as usual (Memorial of 1630, p. 27), that Acoma lay 12 leagues "to the west" from Santa Ana, the "last pueblo" of the Queres. The true direction was and is southwest, while the distance from Santa Ana (which was not the "last pueblo" of the Rio Grande Queres in that direction, by the way, since Sia had that distinction) to Acoma is 65 miles (24.5 leagues) in an air line, or twice the distance that Benavides gives.

Acoma is mentioned as early as 1539 by Fray Marcos de Niza, under the name "Acus," a corruption of its Zuñi name *Hákukia*, not *Hákukwe*, as frequently mis-stated, this being the Zuñi name of the Acoma people. (See "Relation de Frère Marcos de Niza" in Ternaux-Compans, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 271, and cf. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, August 3, 1540, both translated in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado*

Expedition, pp. 63-82, 162-178). Fray Marcos did not visit Acoma, which was seen for the first time in 1540 by the members of Coronado's army, the main body of which reached it in forty leagues' travel eastward from Zuñi or Cibola. The village was described, under the name Acuco (*cf.* the Zuñi name *Hákukia*) as situated on the peñol, just as it is at the present time, and is one of the few pueblos which now occupies its sixteenth-century site, though Isleta, Sandia, Cochití, Taos, and Zuñi doubtless do so too, or have changed but little.

The strength of Acoma's position was noted by the early chroniclers, who estimated its houses at 200 and its warriors at the same number. "There was only one way to go up, a stairway made by hand. This started at a place where the path sloped to the ground. This stairway was wide and had some two hundred steps leading up to the top. Then there was another narrow one, built against the wall, with about one hundred steps. At the top of this it was necessary to climb up the rocky stairway about three times the height of a man by placing one's toes in the holes in the rock and likewise the hands. At the top there was a protecting wall of large and small stones so that, without exposing themselves, the inhabitants could hurl so many down that no army, however powerful, could reach the top. [But it was captured in 1599, as mentioned below.] At the top there was space for planting and growing a large amount of maize. There were cisterns to store snow and water. [These cisterns are still in use.] . . . They presented a large number of turkey cocks with very large wattles, much bread, dressed deerskins, piñon nuts, flour, and maize." (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 218, 173, 288, 309.)

Antonio de Espejo also visited Acoma, in 1583, designating it by the name under which it is now known, attributing to it the greatly exaggerated population of more than 6,000, and mentioning its dizzy trail cut in the rock, and its cultivated fields two leagues away—probably those still tilled and irrigated at the two farming villages of Acomita (Tichuna) and Pueblito (Titsia). Oñate visited Acoma in 1598, as he did all the other aboriginal villages of New Mexico, and during his early governorship Fray Andrés Corchado was assigned to minister to Acoma (called *Yacco*, = "y Acco"), as well as to Zuñi, Moqui (the Hopi), Santa Ana, the province of "Tzias" (Tsia or Sia), and others. No mission churches (except the one at San Juan) were erected at this time, as has repeatedly been said before; indeed, the various missionaries with Oñate's colony could not possibly have covered the immense field to which each was assigned.

The Acoma had always been dreaded by their neighbors; indeed as early as 1540 they were mentioned as "feared by the whole country round about." When Oñate visited their height on October 27, 1598, to receive their vows of allegiance to the Spanish crown, a plot was formed to murder him, but it was averted through the counsel of wiser leaders. Oñate proceeded to Zuñi, the Hopi villages, and the unknown region westward, while Juan de Zaldívar set out from the Rio Grande in November, in obedience to orders from Oñate, to join the latter with thirty men. Reaching Acoma, Zaldívar was received by the natives with every appearance of friendship, but at a signal the Indians fell on the unsuspecting Spaniards during December 4, killing thirteen of their number outright, including Cap-

tains Zaldívar, Núñez, and Escalante, and causing seven to leap in desperation over the cliff, and who, strange to say, lived to tell the story.

The avenging party consisted of seventy men under Juan de Zaldívar's brother Vicente, who reached Acoma January 21, 1599. Their demand that the jubilant hostiles capitulate was met only with jeers. On the following morning the battle was commenced by the Indians with a shower of arrows, but during the night a dozen Spaniards had secreted themselves in the cliffs and now gained a part of the summit where they were shortly reinforced. The battle raged for nearly three days, with dreadful loss to the Indians, but with little effect on the well-armed and armored Spaniards. On the third day the town was fired and many of the Indians perished either in the flames or by throwing themselves in their frenzy over the cliff to escape capture. (A vivid account of the battle is given by Villagrà in his *History of New Mexico*, Quivira Soc. Pub., iv.) Of a population estimated by Oñate at 3,000, only 600 are said to have survived the siege, but as Benavides estimated 2,000 inhabitants for Acoma, in the Memorial of 1630, which he reduced to about 1,000 in the present revision, and as Vetancurt placed the population at 1,500 for about the year 1680, the mortality, large though it must have been, was probably not so great as stated.

It has been noted that although Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón performed some missionary work at Acoma between 1623 and 1626, its first permanent religious was Fray Juan Ramírez, who went to New Mexico with Perea in 1629 and remained there many years. This, of course, is the zealous priest to whom Benavides alludes in the 1630 Memorial and whom he mentions by name in this revision. The church erected by Fray Juan was dedicated to San Estevan and was the one which stood just to the north of the present remarkable edifice, but no trace of it now remains if we except some carved beams which form part of one of the houses of the old north tier. This information was rendered the present writer by some very insistent wise men of Acoma in the spring of 1889. Among other friars who served at Acoma were Fray Francisco Muñoz, 1660-1661; Fray Salvador Guerra, 1661; Fray Nicolás Freitas, Fray Diego de Santander, and lay-brother Fray Joseph Añas, 1666; Fray Fernando de Velasco, 1667; and Fray Lucas Maldonado, 1671-1680. The Acoma participated in the general Pueblo uprising of August 10, 1680, killing their missionary, Fray Lucas Maldonado; but largely on account of their isolation and the inaccessibility of their village site, they were not so severely dealt with by the Spaniards during the succeeding few years as were some of the more easterly Pueblos.

The revolt of June 4, 1696, has been alluded to in previous notes. In this the Acoma aided the upper Rio Grande villagers by affording them asylum and otherwise encouraging the more active rebels, particularly those of Jemez (note 90). Vargas made a tour of the west in August, reaching and attacking Acoma on the 15th, capturing five natives (of whom four were shot), but failing to reach the summit of the peñol. He withdrew after destroying their cornfields, the Acoma remaining unconquered. Toward the close of 1697, a new village was established on the Rio Cubero (now Rio San José), 17 miles northeast of Acoma, by rebel Queres from Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Sia, evidently Acoma, and probably other Queres towns, although there is some evidence that the rebels had gathered at this

spot and had built a village as early as 1689. It was visited by Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero on July 4, 1699, when the natives of the new settlement declared their allegiance and the town was named San José de la Laguna, from the lagoon which formerly existed west of the pueblo, and by this name it has ever since been known.

I desire to record here a strong suspicion that the nucleus of the Laguna population consisted of Queres who had fled to the Hopi country (Tusayán) during the great revolt or earlier. This is based on the fact that Kawaíka, the native name of Laguna, is identical with that of a village, now in ruins, not far from Awátobi, a former pueblo of the Hopi in north-eastern Arizona. Investigation has not yet reached a stage that will warrant the identification of the ruins of Kawaíka as those of a Queres village, nor does the town appear to have been mentioned, by name, in history; but there is good reason for believing that the village destroyed by Coronado's men (Tovar and Padilla) in 1540 before reaching Awátobi was Kawaíka, or Kawaíokuh. This episode is mentioned by Luxán, *Expedition into New Mexico, 1582-83*, Quivira Soc. Pub., 1. The identity of the names appears to be more than a coincidence, as further study of the Hopi and Queres will probably show. For accounts of Kawaíka, see Mooney in *American Anthropologist*, July, 1893; Fewkes in *17th Rep. Bureau Amer. Ethnology*, pt. 2, 1898; Hough in *Rep. U. S. National Museum for 1901*, pp. 339-346.

On July 6, Cubero visited the Acoma, who also submitted; the name of their mission was changed to San Pedro, but the original designation of San Estevan was afterward restored. The present fine church at Acoma, with its massive walls and remarkable cemetery, is doubtless the one mentioned in a document of c. 1641, when its beauty and equipment were praised (Scholes in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.* iv, p. 49). The pueblo then had a population of 600. Twenty-five years later the "*convento* of San Estevan of the Rock of Acoma" had one friar-priest. In 1706, the church, destroyed in the revolt, was being rebuilt. The bell in the northeast tower bears the inscription "San Pedro 1710."

As previously stated, Acoma was credited with 1,500 people at the time of the great revolt; in 1760, it had 1,052, but in 1780-81 a smallpox epidemic reduced the population to such an extent that in the year following it was made a *visita* of Laguna, and ten years later its inhabitants numbered only 820. Their number declined from 816 in 1809 to 691 in 1910, but in 1938 the population was officially given as 1,166. The population of Laguna in 1749 was 401; in 1793, 668; in 1809, 1,022; in 1910, 1,441, and in 1940, 1,254. Like the Pueblo Indians generally, those of Acoma preserve traditions of their early migration after leaving Shipapu, their mythical place of origin in the unknown north. Their first traditional settlement was Kashkáchutí, the next Washpáshüka; and still moving southward they inhabited successively Kuchtyá, Tsíama ("The Gateway," in Cañada de Cruz, west of the present town of Cubero), Tapítsíama (on a mesa northeast of the present Acoma), then Kätzímo, the Mesa Encantada, three miles northeast of their present village. This site, according to tradition, was occupied, still in prehistoric times, until a part of the only trail which made the height of 430 feet accessible, was washed away in a storm while most of the inhabitants were at their farms. The Acoma were thus forced

to abandon their lofty pueblo and the few old men and women who remained in it.

The present Acoma was next built—before the Spaniards came—and as it has been continuously inhabited (with the possible exception of a brief period after Vicente de Zaldívar defeated the natives in 1599), it is the oldest occupied settlement in the United States. The mesa of Kätzimo was scaled in 1897 and evidence of its former occupancy obtained, thus substantiating the Acoma tradition. Other pueblos were occupied by Acoma clans at various early periods, among them Heáshkôa, two miles southeast of Acoma, built by the Red-corn clan; and Kôwina, built by the Calabash clan on a mesa at the head of Cebolilita valley, about 15 miles west of Acoma. For further details regarding the early history of Acoma, see the works herein cited, also Espejo in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xv; Oñate, *ibid.*, xvi; Vetancurt, *Menologio* and *Crónica* (concerning Lucas Maldonado); Bandelier, *Historical Introd.*, pp. 13-14; *idem*, *Contributions*, p. 173; *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 132, pt. II, p. 312 *et seq.*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*; Curtis, *American Indian*, xvi; Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo* (chap. 3, "The City in the Sky"), and *Spanish Pioneers*; Hodge, "Katzimo the Enchanted," in *Land of Sunshine*, Nov., 1897, and "Ascent of the Enchanted Mesa," *Century Magazine*, May, 1898. For the results of recent investigations, see the Works Consulted under Bolton, Curtis, Hackett, Hammond, Kubler, Murdock, Scholes, Stirling, Twitchell, and White.

98. Evidently the influx of other Indians to Acoma was due to their treatment by the Spaniards. Certain instructions for the administration of the Indians, issued in 1621, included the following: "The practice of cutting the hair of Indians guilty of minor offenses was forbidden. This order was the result of a complaint that the friars had used this form of punishment 'for errors and light faults.' For the Indians this was a great affront, and as a result some of them had gone to live in the unconverted pueblo of Acoma, 'returning to idolatry.'" Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 79.

99. Obviously this reference is not to the Memorial of 1630, but to some more extended history which Benavides had written but which has not been brought to light. Similar references to the history are made elsewhere in the present Memorial.

100. Zuñi. This, of course, was the group of Zuñi villages, on Zuñi river, a tributary of the Colorado Chiquito, in the present McKinley and Valencia counties, 10 miles east of the Arizona boundary. From a historical point of view, the present pueblo of Zuñi is one of the most interesting in New Mexico, since it is the survivor of one of the so-called "Seven Cities of Cibola," claimed to have been discovered by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539 and conquered by Francisco Vásquez Coronado in the year following. From the Spanish chroniclers of the sixteenth century, considerable data of ethnologic and historical importance have been derived, and their descriptions are amply definite to leave no doubt of the identification of the so-called "Seven Cities of Cibola" with the six pueblos inhabited by the Zuñi Indians at that time. These are now survived by the single village of Zuñi (so called from its Queres name, meaning "a rock-slide or coasting-

place for children," according to Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvii, p. 85), or, as it is known by the Zuñi, *Shiwinakwin*, signifying "Place of the Flesh," i. e., the Village of the Flesh (of the Earth), as the Zuñi proudly designate themselves.

It is not necessary here to trace the route of the remarkable expedition of Coronado from Culiacán, in western Mexico, to Cíbola, nor to review the overwhelming testimony showing that Cíbola and the Zuñi villages were one and the same, for this has already been carefully and convincingly done by students of the subject familiar both with the Spanish records and with the localities concerned (see Simpson, *Coronado's March*; Bandelier's *Historical Introduction*, his *Contributions*, his *Final Report*, his *Gilded Man*, and his *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*; Hodge, *Coronado's March to Quivira* and his *History of Háwikuh, One of the So-Called Cities of Cíbola*). All the Coronado narratives, with the exception of that of Jaramillo, assert that the province of Cíbola consisted of seven villages; Jaramillo states that there were six ("five little villages besides this," referring unquestionably to Háwikuh, Coronado's Granada). The native name of only one of these towns was recorded by the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition—that of Mátsaki, which Castañeda calls Maçaque—although Coronado gave the name Granada to Háwikuh, the first village seen by the Spaniards (on July 14, 1540) in journeying from the southwest. This last was the only one of the Zuñi pueblos that could have been seen and which was claimed to have been seen from a distance by Fray Marcos de Niza the year before; and it was the scene of the murder of the negro Estevanico.

The next Spanish explorer to visit the Zuñi was Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, in 1581, whose chroniclers record the six Zuñi pueblos (this time approaching from the eastward) as Aquima, Aquiman (K'íákima); Maça (Mátsaki); Alonagua, Aconagua (Hálona); Coaquina (Kwákina); Aguico, Allico (Háwikuh); Acana (K'íanawa or Kéchipawan). Of these, Háwikuh was the largest, with 118 to 125 houses of two to four stories; the next in size was Mátsaki, with 100 houses of four and five stories; then in order were K'íákima, 75 houses; Kwákina, 60; Hálona, 44; K'íanawa, 40.

Antonio de Espejo next visited the province early in 1583, stating that "they call it Amé [or Amí], and by another name Cíbola." (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xv, pp. 117, 120, 180.) Here Espejo found crosses that had been erected near the pueblos, and three Mexican Indians whom Coronado had left there forty-one years previously (see note 103)—positive proof of the identity of Cíbola and Zuñi. The only Zuñi village which Espejo mentions by name is "Aguico" (Háwikuh), but the chief chronicler of the expedition, Diego Pérez de Luxán, affords specific information, for he records the names of the six pueblos: Mazaque (Mátsaki), Quaquema (K'íákima), Aguico (Háwikuh), Alona (Hálona), Quaquina (Kwákina), and Cana (K'íanawa). While Espejo journeyed from Cíbola, or Zuñi, to Tusayán (the Hopi pueblos) and the west, a trip occupying several weeks, he left most of his force, including Padre Fray Bernardino Beltrán, at Háwikuh, and it may be assumed that during this period steps were taken by the padre to prepare the Zuñi for the more serious missionary efforts which followed a generation later.

Juan de Oñate visited Zuñi early in November, 1598; on the 9th the

Zuñi made their vows of obedience and vassalage (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, pp. 132-136). Fray Andrés Corchado and Fray Juan Claros were assigned to the great mission district which included Zuñi, but, as hitherto asserted, no churches or convents were erected at this time, and it is indeed doubtful if the two friars mentioned ever visited the western pueblos included in their mission field. As in the time of Chamuscado and Espejo, the Zuñi occupied six pueblos, the names of which are recorded in the documents pertaining to the Oñate expedition: Aguicobi or Aguscobi (Háwikuh), Canabi (K'íánawa), Coaquena (Kwákina), Hálonagu Háloná, Macaqui (Mátsaki), Aquima (K'íákima). The present Zuñi occupies the site of Háloná; the other five have long been abandoned and in a state of ruin; all other remains of pueblos in the entire Zuñi valley date from prehistoric times. It seems hardly necessary to state that Háwikuh was often referred to as the "pueblo of Cíbola," Zárate Salmerón, for example, saying, "The largest pueblo and head of all is the pueblo of Cíbola, which in their language is called Havico. It has one hundred and ten houses."

Coming now to the time of Benavides, it is not possible that the Zuñi occupied ten or twelve villages, as stated by him, even if outlying summer villages (if any then existed) had been included, for the record of six villages after Coronado's visit is too clear for contradiction. There is no indication that Benavides personally visited the Zuñi, the information presented by him in the present Memorial, much more extended than that of 1630, having been derived from Perea's *Relación*.

No active missionary work was done among the Zuñi until after the arrival of Perea, the new custodian, in the spring of 1629, when, accompanied by the governor, Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto, the missionary party reached the greatest of all the Zuñi pueblos, which "was called Zíbola and was the head town of the others." The identification of this village with Háwikuh requires no argument. (For the various forms of the name Cíbola as applied to Háwikuh, see Hodge, *History of Háwikuh*, pp. 130-131.) Fray Roque de Figueredo pleaded to remain, and with him stayed Fray Agustín de Cuéllar, and the lay religious, Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, together with a guard of three soldiers. In the Memorial of 1630, Benavides noted that in the Zuñi pueblos there were two churches and convents, but nothing of this is said in the present revision. There is no question that one of these establishments was at Háwikuh, where "a house was bought for lodging of the religious, and at once was the first church of that province, where the next day was celebrated the first Mass." This was the beginning of the mission of La Purísima Concepción. Where and by whom the other church and convent were built must be a matter of more or less conjecture. Yet there are good reasons for believing that it was at Háloná (the most important Zuñi mission thirty years later), or else that Benavides was in error. These reasons are presented by the writer in his *History of Háwikuh* and call for no change. At the risk of being regarded by Mr. Kubler as too "arbitrary," if I should again suggest for very good reasons that Father Cuéllar, being a full-fledged priest, was the probable builder of the other Zuñi mission, I may say that it does not seem likely that both Figueredo and Cuéllar would have been stationed at Háwikuh when the other mission would necessarily have demanded the

services of one of the friars. Fuller reasons for this suggestion are given in my *History of Háwikuh*. There now seems to be no doubt that Kéchipawan, on the mesa above nearby Ojo Caliente, was not the site of the second mission establishment, for, unlike Háwikuh, no convent was in association, and indeed the ruins of the small stone church give the appearance that the edifice was never finished. Moreover, that the Kéchipawan mission had been designed as a *visita* of Háwikuh is obvious from the fact that it was the most remote of all the Zuñi settlements and therefore could not have been of direct service to the others. Extensive excavations were conducted at Kéchipawan in 1921 and 1923 by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, notwithstanding the arbitrary statement to the contrary by Mr. Kubler (*Religious Architecture*, p. 95), who evidently never visited the place. (See Hodge, "Age of the Zuñi Pueblo of Kechipawan.") The adobe church and convent at Háwikuh also were almost completely uncovered by the Museum mentioned, showing them to have been an extensive establishment.

The first baptisms at the newly founded Háwikuh mission were conducted on San Agustín's day, 1629 (*i. e.*, evidently August 28, the day of St. Augustine of Hippo). The three pioneer missionaries disappear from Zuñi history after 1632, when Fray Francisco de Letrado, who also was a member of Perea's band and who had been Christianizing the Jumano, was assigned to the Zuñi province, where, at Háwikuh, he was murdered by the Indians, February 22, 1632. Fearing revenge, the Zuñi fled to the summit of Táaiyálane ("Corn mountain"), four miles southeast of modern Zuñi, which had been a refuge for the tribe in earlier time—notably when Coronado forced them to abandon Háwikuh in 1540. Here the Zuñi remained until about 1635, when they began to settle on the plain again; but no missionaries were reestablished among them until the 1640's.

The history of the Zuñi during the next thirty years following 1632 is vague. Scholes believes that the missions were reestablished in the 1640's. In 1661, Captain Diego de Truxillo visited the Zuñi province in September, and found "that the natives were not attending the teaching of the doctrine" (Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, p. 181). Fray Miguel Guevara served at Hálona in 1665 and 1666. In the latter year, at the mission of Nuestra Señora de Candelaria of the pueblo of Hálona was stationed a priest who served its *visita* (Mátsaki or K'íákima?), together with Háwikuh and another *visita*, evidently Kéchipawan (Scholes in *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, IV, pp. 45-58). About the year 1641, when the population was 1,200, it was stated that Zuñi had been severely punished for having destroyed churches and convents and for having killed one of the ministers. This seems to hark back to 1632. In 1660-62, Fray Juan de la Ascensión served at Háwikuh, and ten years later there were two priests among the Zuñi, one Fray Juan de Galdo, at Hálona (1671-72), and the other, Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala, at Háwikuh (1672). On October 7 of that year the Apache, or their cousins, the Navaho, raided the latter pueblo, beat out the brains of Fray Pedro with a bell while he was clinging to a cross, and burned the church. His remains were recovered by Fray Juan and taken to Hálona, where they were interred. The mission of La Concepción de Háwikuh was henceforth abandoned. While a part of the pueblo itself probably continued to be inhabited for a few years longer, and the church, convent,

and some of the rooms of the pueblo were used as sheepfolds, it was certainly not occupied after 1680.

The Zuñi participated in the revolt of 1680-92, killing their missionary at Hálona, Fray Juan de Bal, on August 10. At this time they occupied, in addition to Hálona (which was the seat of the mission of La Purificación de la Virgen), Mátsaki, and K'íákima, the latter two being mere *visitas* of Hálona. According to Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 321), La Concepción de Háwikuh ("Aguico") was also an active mission at this time, with a resident priest who escaped the massacre, although the church was burned. This seems to be an error, as it has been seen that the church was destroyed a decade previously when Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala was killed. However, there is traditional testimony of the Indians that a missionary of Zuñi, in order to save his life, agreed to be taken to their fortified village on Corn Mountain where he was found by the Spaniards under Don Diego de Vargas on November 11, 1692, when the Zuñi declared their allegiance. (See Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 79, note; Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercurio Volante*; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 182, note.) I was informed by the late F. H. Cushing that the Zuñi had a definite tradition of the affair which coincided closely with that given by Davis, here cited, but what would appear to give most color to the story is the statement that an altar with burning candles and other sacred objects were found in a room by Vargas when the defensive village on Corn Mountain capitulated. In substantiation of this is the almost utter impossibility of a Spanish priest escaping, as the chief Spanish settlement at this period was Santa Fe, 250 miles away, which was then in complete possession of the insurrectionists.

In the revolt of 1696, the Zuñi aided the Rio Grande rebels, but they were reduced to submission by Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero on July 12, 1699. In a declaration by Fray Juan Alvarez, dated January 12, 1706, it was asserted that in the mission of Alona (the present Zuñi), Fray Juan de Garaicoechea was alone, with about 1500 Christian persons, and that "the church is being built." (Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, pp. 376-377.) Doubtless this is the church in the middle of present-day Zuñi, the walls of which are still standing. Kubler arbitrarily assumes "that the decrepit fabric in evidence today is identical with that described in 1666, burned in 1680, rebuilt in 1699, and reoccupied finally in 1705," but he disregards the declaration by Alvarez that the edifice was in process of building (not rebuilding) early in the year following. Nothing short of careful excavation could prove or disprove Mr. Kubler's guess. It is evident, at any rate, that the church was erected within the northern part of ancient Hálona, *i. e.*, on the north bank of the Rio Zuñi. Excavations by the Hemenway Expedition in 1888-89 revealed many houses and human burials on the south bank. The house across the narrow street from the northeast corner of the adobe church, sometimes used as a kiva, has long been regarded by the Zuñi as the abode of the priest or priests when the old church was still in use.

The Zuñi mission was first called Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, and La Limpia Concepción de Alona (Hálona), but its mission name was later changed to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, which has been retained to this day, although only within very recent years has there been a resident Catholic priest and a habitable church. In 1744, Father Men-

chero reported that the Zuñi mission was administered by two fathers (Hackett, *op. cit.*, p. 405). In 1754, Father Trigo mentioned the support given the padre de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, or "the mission of El Zuñi," by the natives in the way of food, fuel, and servants (*ibid.*, p. 465). A report by Fray Pedro Serrano in 1761 cited Father Varo to the effect that the sad state of the Zuñi mission was due to neglect on the part of the authorities, and that it had nearly 2,000 Indian fugitives from other missions "because of being oppressed by tyrannies" (*ibid.*, p. 488). In 1780, Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante was a missionary at Zuñi, and, as is well known, it was from there that Escalante, in 1776, left for Santa Fe to accompany Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez on the notable journey to the discovery of Utah lake.

In addition to Zuñi, the tribe has four summer or farming villages, which are occupied by nearly all the natives during a part of the year. These are Héshotatsínakwin ("Pictograph place"), Taw'yakwin ("Corn or Seed place"), K'íápkwainakwin ("Hot Springs place")—commonly known as Pescado, Nutria, and Ojo Caliente, respectively—and the tiny Tékyapoawa ("hilly ranch") established about 1912 or 1914 between Zuñi and Ojo Caliente. The population of Zuñi recorded at various dates was: 1,617 in 1788, 1,935 in 1790-93, 2,716 in 1797-98, 1,470 in 1805, 1,530 in 1871, 1,613 in 1890, 1,664 in 1910, and 2,252 in 1940. The tribe suffered greatly from epidemics of smallpox (especially in 1853 and in 1898-99), and in former years from Navaho depredations. The Zuñi reservation (including a Spanish grant of 17,581.25 acres) comprises 215,040 acres. In addition to the works cited above, consult those of the following in the Works Consulted: Benedict, Bunzel, Curtis, Cushing, Goldman, Hodge, Kroeber, Murdock, Parsons, Spier, J. Stevenson, and M. C. Stevenson.

101. See note 28. If a perpetual fire were ever maintained by the Zuñi, which is very doubtful, the practice no longer prevails. Such a custom has persistently been attributed to Pecos, concerning which consult Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvii, pp. 20-21.

102. This information regarding snakes was taken directly from Perea's *Verdadera Relación* of 1632 (see Appendix xxv), showing that Benavides had available that important document when the revision of the Memorial was written and from which he derived his knowledge respecting the planting of the first missions among the Zuñi. The use of snakes as here described was of course not a form of idolatry, but was a method commonly employed by Indians for poisoning arrows. There is reason to believe, however, that snake ceremonies were at one time practiced not only by the Hopi, as at present, but by the Pueblo Indians generally. In his "Account of the Journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, 1583" (Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 183), Espejo stated, in regard to Acoma: "In our honor they performed a very ceremonious *mitote* and dance, the people coming out in fine array. They performed many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes." See also Hodge, "Snake-pens of Hawikuh." For the employment of snakes in ceremony at Pecos, see Curtis, *North American Indian*, xvii, pp. 20-21, and for the Hopi consult Bourke, Fewkes, Stephen.

103. The use of the cross as a symbol by the Indians did not mean that it was due to Christian influence, for not infrequently it was employed to represent a star, and especially the Morning Star, and often cruciform prayer-sticks were used. Castañeda, referring to Zuñi (Cíbola), says: "As an emblem of peace, they make the sign of the cross." (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 253.) Again, "At Acuco, by a spring down in the valley, they have a cross two spans high and the thickness of a finger. It was made of wood and had a base one yard square around which were many small sticks adorned with plumes and many withered flowers torn into small pieces.

"At a tomb outside the pueblo of Tutahaco, where it seemed that some one had been buried recently, there was another cross at the head. It was made of two small sticks tied together with cotton thread, and there were many dry and crumbled flowers. I say that in my opinion they have gained, in some way or other, some light of the cross of Christ, our Redeemer. This may have come by way of India, whence these natives came." (*Ibid.*, 280.) In his famous letter to Viceroy Mendoza, written at Háwikuh, August 3, 1540, Coronado wrote that he sent a cross, through his army-master, to the Zuñi at Háwikuh on approaching that pueblo, telling them that they need not fear (*ibid.*, 167). This time, however, the proffer of the cross proved ineffectual, for a battle ensued. Later, after the Zuñi had been subjected to some slight Christian contact, Espejo found "many well-built crosses in all these pueblos, because Coronado had been in this land" (Luxán, *Expedition into New Mexico, 1582-83*, pp. 89-90). The crosses had been maintained by the Mexican Indians who had been left behind when Coronado finally left the Zuñi province in 1542. Oñate, in 1598, also found crosses in the Zuñi pueblos, "which the Indians reverence and to which they are accustomed to make the same offerings as to their idols, which consist of flour [prayer-meal], small sticks painted with different colors [prayer-sticks], and turkey-feathers." (See Hodge, *History of Háwikuh*, and authorities therein cited.)

104. Roque de Figueredo. Beristáin y Souza states that this friar came to New Mexico in 1604 with Juan de Oñate (*Biblioteca*, I, p. 442), but it would appear that this is definitely an error, for there is no evidence that Figueredo was in New Mexico prior to 1629. There is no mention of him in any of the Oñate documents before that date. Bandelier asserts that Figueredo did not accompany Oñate, a statement strongly reinforced by Scholes and others. In 1623, he was definitor in the plenary assembly of the definitors held in Mexico that year which elected Benavides to the custodianship of New Mexico (see Appendix III). Figueredo did come to New Mexico with Perea's band of missionaries in 1629, and he is further mentioned by Fray Juan de Prada in a petition written at the convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638, as one who afforded him information regarding New Mexico (Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, p. 106). See note 71.

105. Moqui Nation. A body of Indians occupying a group of pueblos in northeastern Arizona. They call themselves *Hópituh*, or *Hópituh Shí-numo*, "Peaceful people," "Moqui" being an opprobrious epithet of indefinite signification and of alien origin either from the Queres tongue (*Mósichā* in Laguna, *Mo-ts* in Acoma, *Mótsi* in Sia, Cochiti, and San Felipe.

etc., whence Espejo's "Mohace" and "Mohoce" and Oñate's "Mohoqui"), or from that of the Zuñi (*Ahmukwe*). The definition of "Moqui" has been variously given to be "smallpox people," "dead people," "stinking people," and "excrement people," but none of these seems to be accurate. It should be remembered, however, that the Spanish explorers learned of the Hopi from the Zuñi. On the derivation, see Harrington, "Note on the Names Moqui and Hopi," *Amer. Anthropologist*, Jan.-Mar., 1945.

It was concluded by Bandelier and Cushing that the province of Totonteac, mentioned by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, was identical with the province of Tusayán, or the Hopi country, which was first visited by white men in the summer of 1540 when Francisco Vázquez Coronado dispatched Pedro de Tovar, with Fray Juan de Padilla and a few horsemen and foot-soldiers, from Cibola (Zuñi) to investigate the group of pueblos toward the west or northwest of which they had heard at Zuñi. The little party remained in Tusayán (Tuçan, Tucano, Tuçayan, Tuzan) several days, meanwhile learning from the Indians of the existence of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado beyond, and returned to Cibola within 30 days.

The distance from Cibola to Tusayán, as given by Coronado's chroniclers, varies from 20 to 35 leagues. The actual distance from Háwikuh (Coronado's Granada, Perea's Zibola) to Awátobi, or Awátovi, the first of the Tusayán or Hopi (Moqui) villages encountered after 1540, is approximately 150 miles, so that all the estimates given are below the actual distance. It is not to be assumed, however, that the Tusayán of Coronado's time is not identical with the tribal habitat of the present Hopi Indians; as has repeatedly been asserted, and as the above range from 20 to 35 leagues will further indicate, but little reliance can be placed on the distances given by the early explorers.

For the route followed, see Bartlett, Katherine, "How Don Pedro de Tovar Discovered the Hopi . . ." in *Plateau*, XII, no. 2, Jan., 1940. None of the names of the seven Hopi villages of Tusayán is recorded by Coronado's people, so that it is not positively known which seven pueblos were inhabited by the tribe at that early period. Diego Pérez de Luxán of the Espejo party of 1583 relates that the Hopi informed the Spaniards that the first of their pueblos, coming from Zuñi, had been destroyed by Coronado's men. This seems to have been Kawaika. Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado visited Zuñi in 1581, as we have seen, but he did not continue his journey to Tusayán (Asay or Osay, as he calls it), on account of the snow.

At this point a word may be said about the name Tusayán, several attempts at determining the etymology of which have been made. Now, Coronado and his followers, who first employ the name, learned it from the Zuñi of Cibola, and Chamuscado heard of his Asay or Osay (T-osayan?) from the same source. I have already shown ("The Early Navajo and Apache," *American Anthropologist*, July, 1895), and my proofs have since been materially strengthened, that the Navaho were unknown to the Spaniards before Oñate's time (1598), although they repeatedly crossed what later became Navaho territory, so that, coupled with the evidence that the Spaniards learned of Tusayán from the Zuñi, the resemblance between the Navaho *Tasaun* or *Zilh Tasaun*, "the country of isolated buttes," and *Tusayán* would seem to be fortuitous. Whether or not the name had its origin in *Asa* (compare *Asay*, above), the important Tansy Mustard clan

of the Hopi (which came from the Rio Grande valley and left part of their people at the Zuñi pueblo of Háwikuh, where they became known as the Aíaho clan of that pueblo), I do not assert, but the suggestion is offered for what it may be worth. The Franciscan fathers of St. Michaels mission, Arizona, whose knowledge of the Navaho is most extensive, have stated that "it would seem plausible that the Navaho have their homes in the Southwest about five hundred years." (*Ethnologic Dictionary*, p. 30.)

The next Spanish explorer to visit the Hopi people was Antonio de Espejo, in 1583, as above mentioned. Espejo's direction from Zuñi, like that of some of Coronado's narrators, was "westward," and the distance 28 leagues, which occupied four days. The Mohoce or Mohace of this explorer consisted of five large villages, the population of one of which, Aguato (Ahuato, Zaguato, Awátobi, "High Place of the Bow Clan"), he estimated at 50,000, which was about two ciphers too many. The names of the other four "Mohace" towns are not given. The Indians had evidently forgotten the horses of Tovar and Cárdenas of forty years before, since they now became frightened at them, building a stone corral, at the instance of the Spaniards, in order that the ferocious beasts might be kept in check! The Hopi presented Espejo with quantities of native cotton kilts, for which they were celebrated then as now.

Espejo was followed by Juan de Oñate, who left the Rio Grande on October 23, 1598, and proceeded by way of Zuñi to the Provincia de Mohuqui, whose inhabitants submitted to the acts of obedience and vassalage on November 15. Their spiritual welfare was assigned to Fray Juan Claros, this being the first formal attempt to gather the Hopi to the Christian fold, although nothing in the way of sending active missionaries to Tusayán was accomplished for nearly a generation later. It would appear from Oñate's itinerary (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, pp. 274-275) that there were only four "Mohuqui" pueblos at this time, and little aid is given by the *Obediencia y vasallaje á Su Magestad por los indios de la Provincia de Mohoqui*, of November 15, 1598 (*ibid.*, p. 137), since names of the villages are confounded with those of the chiefs: "Panaumá, Hoynigua, Xuynuxá, Patiguá, Aguatuybá; capitanes de los Pueblos de esta Provincia que son y se llaman Naybí (Oraybí), Xumupavi, Cuanrabí, Esperiez." The identification of Aguatuybá (Awátobi), Oraybi, and Xumupavi (Shongopovi) is certain, but whether Cuanrabí was intended for Walpi, which certainly existed at this time, is doubtful. Fortunately, in a *testimonio* forming part of the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo México y sus acontecimientos—Años desde 1595 á 1602" (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 207), which was made in the interest of Oñate, and which, although apparently pertaining to Chamuscado's discoveries more likely relates to the entrada of Espejo, the following Hopi pueblos are mentioned: Aguato (Awátobi), Gaspe (Gualpe, Walpi), Comupavi (Shongopovi), Majananí (Mishongnovi), and Olalla (Oraibi), thus accounting for all the pueblos occupied by the Hopi at the close of the sixteenth century and indeed for many years later.

We now reach the period of Benavides, during which Tusayán, so far as is known, remained as in Espejo's time, for no effort to establish missions among the Hopi was made until Fray Estevan de Perea assumed the custodianship of the province. It is learned from his *Segunda Relación*

(see our Appendix xxv) that the journey to found the missions in the new field to the west was made from Santa Fe, beginning June 23, 1629; the party reached Acoma (36 leagues) and Zuñi (56 leagues), at which pueblos the missionaries assigned to them were left, the remainder, consisting of Fray Francisco de Porras, Fray Andrés Gutiérrez, Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción, and Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (the latter is not mentioned by Perea as having been a member of the Hopi party) "with their crucifixes at the neck and staffs in their hands," accompanied by twelve soldiers, continuing to the Hopi or Moqui country (80 - 56 = 24 leagues from Zuñi), where they arrived on St. Bernard's day (August 20). In honor of the occasion, the name of the saint was applied to Awátobi, the first village reached, which name it retained throughout its mission history of half a century. In which of the other four Hopi pueblos missions were established at this time is not positively known. (See notes 106 and 107.) But it is clear that Fray Alonso de Posada was at Awátobi between the spring of 1653 and 1655, Fray Jacinto de Monpean, about 1662, and Fray José de Espeleta in 1663.

Oraibi, about 1641, had a very good church and convent, it was said, and was accredited with a population of 1,236. From about 1630-1640, it was served by Fray Bartolomé Romero. Awátobi, with a population of 900, had a church and convent, and Walpi was its *visita*. Shongopovi and its *visita*, Mishongnovi, had churches and a convent, with 830 inhabitants. In 1666, San Miguel de Oraibi had a friar-priest "who will administer it and also a *visita*; and also, for lack of a friar, he looks after the pueblo of Moxainavi [Mishongnovi] in which there is a *convento* and also a *visita*." A priest was at Shongopovi, which also had a *visita*, the friar, in 1661, being Fray José de Espeleta, who was at Oraibi from 1669-72. Oraibi was served by Fray José de Trujillo in 1672.

The missions of the Hopi country in 1680 (the name "Tusayán" had meanwhile fallen into disuse), as recorded by Vetancurt (*Crónica*, pp. 321-322), were: *San Bernardino de Ahuatobi*, 26 leagues from Zuñi, population 800, Fray José de Figueras (Figueroa), alias de la Concepción, native of Mexico, killed in the rebellion. *San Bartolomé de Xongopabi* (Shongopovi), 7 leagues beyond (at Middle Mesa), with Moxainabe (Mishongnovi) as a *visita*; large church, population 500; José Trujillo, native of Cádiz, killed in the rebellion. *San Francisco de Oraybe* (Oraibi), toward the west; last *convento* of Moqui; 14,000 (!) gentiles before their conversion, but they were consumed by pestilence; "tenía en él una aldea llamada Gualpimas [Gualpi mas] de mil y doscientas personas," which means that Gualpi (Walpi) was its *visita* with a population of more than 1,200; Father Fray José de Espeleta and Father Fray Agustín de Santa María were the missionaries murdered; the church was reduced to ashes.

It has thus been seen that the Hopi were active participants in the great revolt, not one of their missionaries escaping, so far as is known. Awátobi met its ultimate fate late in 1700, when, owing to the attitude of its people toward the other Hopi and to the fact that they had been encouraging the Spaniards to send missionaries, the natives of the other Hopi villages fell upon them before daybreak, killed many of the inhabitants, and distributed the survivors (mostly women and children) among the other pueblos, Mishongnovi receiving most of them. (For an account of

the native tradition and its verification by archaeological excavations, see Fewkes in *17th Report Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, pt. II, p. 592 *et seq.*) Awátobi was henceforth abandoned, but the walls of the mission church of San Bernardo, or San Bernardino, as it has sometimes been called, are still standing to a height of several feet on Antelope or Jeditoh mesa. (Important excavations have been conducted at Awátobi (or Awátovi) by Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1935-39, the results of which are being published. From the historical and structural point of view, the monograph on the Awátobi mission buildings, by Ross G. Montgomery, will be especially complete and valuable.) The pueblos of Walpi, Mishongnovi, Shongopovi, and Oraibi do not occupy their sixteenth and seventeenth century sites nearer the feet of the mesas, but, following the revolt, doubtless in fear of Spanish vengeance, their inhabitants built new towns on the summits, where they still stand.

It has been stated in previous notes that many Indians fled from the Rio Grande to the Hopi during the revolt. Some of these built the town of Payúpki on the Middle Mesa, but were brought back and settled at Sandia in 1748. About the year 1700, the pueblo of Hano was established on the East Mesa by Tewa from the Rio Grande, on the invitation of the Walpi people. Here they have lived uninterruptedly since, and although intermarried considerably with the Hopi, they retain their native tongue and many of their distinctive tribal rites and customs (see note 22). Two of the pueblos, Sichúmovi on the East Mesa, and Shipaúlovi on the Middle Mesa, are of comparatively modern origin, having been established about the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus the Hopi pueblos, or the province of Tusayán, today consist of: Walpi, Sichúmovi, and Hano (frequently but improperly called Tewa, the name of the people), on the East Mesa; Mishóngnovi, Shupaúlovi, and Shongópovi, on the Middle Mesa; Oraibi on the West or Oraibi Mesa, and two pueblos, Hotavila and Pakabi, built in recent years by conservatives from Oraibi, to the westward. Also may be included in the Hopi pueblo group the summer settlement of Moenkapi, northwest of Oraibi. This village was probably that mentioned in 1604 by Oñate under the name Rancho de los Gandules (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 276), while Fray Francisco Garcés (see Elliott Coues' translation of his *Diary*) referred to it in 1776 as Muqui concabe and Munqui concabe. The total Hopi population (including the Tewa of Hano) in 1940 was 3,444.

106. Francisco de Porras. Born at Villanueva de los Infantes, Spain; took the habit of his order in the convent of Nuestro Padre San Francisco, Mexico, September 12, 1606, where he was master of novices for five years, 1623 to 1628 (according to Vetancurt, cited below; Perea says he was master for six years), when he was granted permission to accompany Perea to New Mexico. Andrés Gutiérrez and Cristóbal de la Concepción, who had made their novitiate under him, accompanied him thither, the three, together with Francisco de San Buenaventura, being assigned to the Moqui (Hopi) pueblos. Regarding their labors in that distant province, see Perea's *Segunda Relación* (1633), Appendix xxv. They reached the Hopi pueblo of Awátobi on Saint Bernard's day (August 20) of 1629, hence the mission name San Bernardo, or San Bernardino, by which that pueblo was known until it was destroyed by the other Hopi in 1700.

Porras is declared to have immediately cured a case of blindness in a Hopi boy by spitting on his hand, rolling a little mud, and placing it on the eyes of the lad while uttering the word "*Epheta*"—resulting in the conversion of a thousand of the Indians. This was at Awátobi, where Porras, apparently, was stationed. But the old men, evidently angered at the loss of power through the adherence of so many of their tribe to the missionaries, poisoned some food, which the friar ate. Realizing his fate, he immediately went to Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, who administered the last sacraments. While repeating the Psalm "*In Te, Domine speravi*," he expired. The date of his death is June 28, 1633 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 211-213).

At the time of the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, there were missions at San Bernardo de Ahuatobi (Awátobi, where Porras had been stationed); San Bartolomé de Xongopabi (Shongópovi, the Xumupavi of Oñate, 1598), with a *visita* at Moxainabe (Mishógnovi); and San Francisco de Oraibi, with a *visita* at Walpi. If these missions were established by the three Franciscans above mentioned, it is probable that Fray Cristóbal and Fray Andrés were settled at Shongópovi and Oraibi. Francisco de San Buenaventura, the lay religious, however, evidently assisted Porras at Awátobi, since the latter would not have had the opportunity of seeking his aid after finding that he had been poisoned, had Francisco de San Buenaventura resided even at Walpi, which, while the nearest village to Awátobi, was several miles away. See Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 321-322.

An account of the missions mentioned above is given by Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 321-322. See also Perea, *Relaciones*, 1632-33, the chief source for the planting of these missions, in our Appendix xxv. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 161, note, mentions Juan de la Torre [y Castro] as apparently one of Perea's companions; but Torre did not make his vows in Mexico until May 4, 1629—after Perea had reached New Mexico. See Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 430, 466. Cf. Stephen, Alexander M., *Hopi Journal of . . .*, ed. by Elsie Clews Parsons. A brief bibliography of the Hopi will be found in Murdock.

107. Francisco de Letrado. Born at Talavera de la Reina, Spain; went to Mexico, but finding the natives converted, proceeded to New Mexico in 1629 with Fray Estevan de Perea, the newly appointed custodian; was assigned to the Jumano, east of the Rio Grande, building a church and a house for the priests, that is, the pueblo of the Humanas, now the ruin known as Gran Quivira. Later he was sent to the Zuñi, where two churches were established—one at Háwikuh, where Letrado was stationed (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 321), the other evidently at Háloná. Learning of a tribe known as the Zipias (see Scholes, *Church and State*, pp. 108, 119-120; Hodge, *History of Háwikuh*, p. 123), he applied for permission to go among them, but was refused, Fray Martín de Arvide being sent in his stead. On Sunday, February 22, 1632 (a hundred years to a day before Washington was born), the Indians appeared to delay in attending mass. Fray Francisco, impatient, and probably of a fiery and zealous nature, went out to urge them. He met some idolaters, and began to chide them. He saw at once that they were bent on killing him, so he knelt down, holding in his hands a small crucifix, and continued the remon-

strance while in this attitude. The Indians shot him dead with arrows, carried off the corpse and scalped it, parading the scalp afterward at the usual dances. (Consult Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 320-321; *idem*, *Menologio*, pp. 52-53; Bandelier, *Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, pp. 96-97.)

As evidenced by an inscription on El Morro, or Inscription Rock, 35 miles east of Zuñi, on the road to Acoma, first given in garbled form by Gen. James H. Simpson (after a drawing by R. H. Kern) in *Senate Ex. Doc. no. 64, 31st Congress, 1st session*, pl. 68, and later illustrated by Charles F. Lummis in his *Some Strange Corners*, p. 180, almost immediate steps were taken to avenge Letrado's death. Francisco de la Mora Ceballos, governor at the time, dispatched to Zuñi a handful of soldiers under the maestro de campo, Tomás de Albizú, together with a few priests. Stopping at Inscription Rock, one Luján, a soldier with a talent for petrography, carved the following, still remarkably well preserved:

Se pasaron á 23 de Marzo de 1632 años
They passed on 23 of March of 1632 years
á la Benganza de Muerte del Padre Letrado.
to the avenging of the death of the father Letrado.

For a comparison of this with the "copy" made in 1849 for General Simpson, see Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, II, p. 376 *et seq.*, and accompanying plates. See also, for other illustrations and translations, Lummis, *Some Strange Corners*, pp. 180-181, fig. 9; Hoopes and Broomall in *Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science*, I, no. 1; Hodge, *History of Hdwikuh*, pl. xxiii; Benavides, *Memorial* (1630), Ayer ed., pl. xliii, xlv.

There has been much discussion in regard to the actual year in which Letrado was murdered by the Zuñi. The evidence in favor of both 1630 and 1632 has been ably presented by Bandelier (*Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, p. 98 *et seq.*), but there is no longer any doubt that it was in the year 1632. Recently a document was revealed stating that in September, 1632, testimony was given by Capt. Francisco (?) de Santa Cruz, Alonso de Varela, Fr. Agustín de Cuéllar, Capt. Francisco de Madrid, and by several Indians—Marta y Saitá, Ana Aguaico (Háwikuh?), María Yuyanto, and María Mayutina, certifying the death of Father Letrado. (*Documentos Varios*, ff. 45-47, Museo Nacional, Mexico.) Moreover, since Perea's *Relación* came to light some years ago, showing that Letrado was not the first missionary to the Zuñi pueblos, and that it must have taken Letrado more than a year to build the church for the Jumano and to baptize the members of that tribe, it is certain that the year was 1632 and that the avenging party was sent from Santa Fe as soon as the news reached the capital, rather than two years later. Vetancurt (*Menologio*, pp. 52-53) records February 22, 1632, as the date of Letrado's death. His account of Letrado is as follows: "El venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado, natural de Talavera de la Reina, hijo de la Santa Provincia de Castilla, pasó con deseo de convertir almas para Dios á la Provincia del Santo Evangelio; y viendo que estaban convertidos, decia que su intento principal era buscar que convertir, y así pasó al Nuevo-México el año de 1628 con los treinta religiosos que fueron á la conversion. Entró en la nueva conversion de los humanas; bautizó á muchos; edificó iglesia y morada para religioso; y habiendo oido decir que

en Zuñi (provincia populosa) habia que convertir, pidió el pasar á ella, donde juntó en cinco pueblos muchos infieles que catequizó y bautizó. Estando ya instruidos, no le permitia su fervor dejar de buscar nuevas conversiones: pidió licencia para pasar á los Zipias; y pareciéndole al custodio que seria de mas servicio á Dios que acabase la obra empezada donde estaba, no le concedió la licencia. Envió al padre fray Martín de Arvide, que pasando por allí le quedó el padre Letrado muy envidioso, y le rogaba le dejase despachar al prelado para la permuta; pero Dios nuestro Señor, que dispone las cosas segun sus investigables juicios, permitió que se quedase el uno, y se fuese, por la obediencia, el otro, para darles la corona á entrambos. Un domingo de cuaresma, viendo que tardaban algunos en venir á misa, salió á buscarlos: encontró con unos idólatras, y encendido en fervor les empezó á predicar; y viendo se conjuraban á quitarle la vida, con un Cristo pintado en una cruz que traía al cuello para su defensa, puesto de rodillas y encomendándose al Señor, murió predicando, flechado. No fué hallado su cuerpo de los soldados cristianos, porque los bárbaros se lo llevaron, quitándole de la cabeza la piel para sus bailes gentílicos. Deseando tener alguna reliquia, vieron que por el aire cayó en manos de los soldados una cuerda, que la dividieron en pedazos. Padeció á 22 de Febrero del año de 1632."

Another account is given by Fr. Pedro de Frias in his *Relacion del Martirio de Treinta y vn Martires, Religiosos, y Terceros*, published in Madrid in 1633, of which a facsimile of the first of its two folio pages is reproduced in Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, I, pl. xlix (*Quivira Society Publications*, VII). Dr. Wagner gives also a translation of Frias' account of the murder of Letrado and Arvide, and mentions another account of the murder in Fr. Gaspar de la Fuente, *Historia del capitulo general que celebró la religion seráfica en la imperial Toledo este año de 1633*. Madrid, 1633. Frias records Ocaña as the birthplace of Letrado, whereas others give Talavera de la Reina, both of which, however, are in Toledo province, Nueva Castilla.

108. See notes 73, 90, and 93.

109. See the Biography of Benavides, pp. 7-10 herein, and compare paragraph XLVII.

110. See paragraphs XXXIX and XL, and note 105. The "Apache Indians" here mentioned by Benavides were obviously the Navaho, early referred to as the Apaches de Navajó.

111. Apache. The name of this most southerly division of the Athapaskan stock, the northernmost members of which still reside in northern Canada, is said to be derived from a Yuman term signifying "fighting men," but, as the name is first used by the Spaniards of New Mexico, about 500 miles from the Yuma country bordering the Rio Colorado, it seems more likely that the popular designation may have come from the Zuñi name *Ápachu*, signifying "enemies," the term by which the Navaho are known to the Zuñi. The name Apache has also been applied, in combination, to tribes of the Yuman stock, as Apache Yumas, Apache Mohaves, etc. No group of tribes has been so completely confused by writers, owing to the fact that their popular names were derived largely from local or

temporary habitat, regardless of their shifting propensities; hence some of the common names of apparently different Apache tribes or bands are synonymous, or practically so, while others are collective; again, as employed by some writers, a name may include much more or much less than when employed by others. The appended list will serve in a measure to explain the various Apache divisions, exclusive of the Navaho who in later times came to be regarded as an independent Athapascan tribe.

I. Vaqueros. This name was first employed by Castaño de Sosa in 1590 to designate the buffalo-hunting Apache of eastern New Mexico and western Texas. They were the "Quereches, ó baqueros que viven en tiendas de cueros adobado, entre el ganado de Cibola; es infinita gente los Apiches," of Oñate (1599), and therefore identical with the Querechos of Coronado (1541), the latter name being the Pecos generic *Tágu-keresh* for the Apache, or the specific *Keretsá* for the Navaho tribe. They consisted, in whole or in part, of the tribes later known as Mescaleros, Jicarillas, Faraones, Lipanes, and Llaneros—in other words, all the Apache who subsisted largely on the buffalo. For the Texas divisions of the Apache, see William Edward Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," in *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, xiv, pp. 198-274; and Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*.

a. Of those mentioned, the *Mescaleros* (so named from their custom of eating mescal bread) seem to have been first mentioned by this name about the middle of the eighteenth century; they ranged from about eastern central New Mexico in the north to the Bolson de Mapimí, Chihuahua, in the south, and far into Texas; they are now on a reservation in Otero county, southern New Mexico.

b. The *Jicarillas*, or *Xicarillas*, were first mentioned in 1706, the name being derived from the small cup-shape baskets (*jicaras*) which they manufacture. They were the northernmost of all the Apache, ranging north, northeast, and east of Taos, in northeastern New Mexico, southern Colorado, and southwestern Kansas, where they came in contact with the Ute and Comanche. They are now on a reservation in Rio Arriba and Sandoval counties, northwestern New Mexico.

c. The *Faraones* (*i. e.* "Pharaohs") are no longer known, but they were very troublesome to the Rio Grande settlements early in the eighteenth century when they found shelter in the Sandia mountains, east of the Rio Grande, and in the Sierra de los Ladrones west of that stream. The name was probably collective rather than specific, including several vagrant bands of Mescaleros, Mimbrenos, and probably Mogollones, but as the various designations were indiscriminately given to any Indians seen in the regions which suggested the names of the respective bands, this cannot be determined to a nicety. Orozco y Berra gave Yuta-jenne as the native name of the Faraones or Faraonas, a term which he applies also to the Navaho but which seems to suggest more specifically the Ute (Uta, Yuta, Utah).

d. The *Llaneros*, or "Plainsmen," were an eastern division of the Apache, roaming the Llano Estacado of eastern New Mexico and western Texas, and extending southward into Coahuila. They comprised three divisions, the Nataje, Lipan, and Llanero proper, now known only as the Nadiisha (Nataje), or Kiowa Apache, and the Lipan. The former, numbering 139, are under the Kiowa agency, Oklahoma; the principal remnant of

the Lipan are now with the Mescaleros in New Mexico, numbering 20, while 8 others are recorded as living in "other states," evidently referring to Oklahoma, where they are incorporated with the remnant of the Tonkawa.

II. Chiricahua. One of the most important divisions of the Apache group, so called from their former mountain home (*ts'ihl*, "mountain"; *kawa*, "great") in southeastern Arizona. Their own name is *Aiaha*, or *Hayá-a*. The Chiricahua were the most warlike of all the Arizona Indians, their raids extending into New Mexico, and throughout southern Arizona, northern Chihuahua, and northeastern Sonora. Divisions were known as Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apache, Coppermine Apache, Mimbresños, and Mogollones. Among their well-known warriors were Mangas Coloradas, Victorio, Nané, Loco, Cochise, Chato, Natchez or Nachai, Bonito, and Gerónimo. The tribe was removed to San Carlos reservation in 1876, because a couple of their number became drunk and killed the two white ruffians who sold them whisky. Ten years of hostility followed, and after the final round-up the leaders and their families were confined to Florida and Alabama, and later sent to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, thence to the Mescalero reservation in New Mexico. Most of the tribe is under the San Carlos agency, Arizona, but the Apache divisions are no longer separately enumerated. (See Opler, *An Apache Life-way*, with bibliography; Lockwood, *The Apache Indians*.) One of the divisions of the Chiricahua are the:

a. Pinalañes, or Arivaipas, named respectively from the Pinalañe range and Arivaipa creek, in southeastern Arizona, where they formerly lived. The native name of this division is *Tchi-kún*, signifying "juniper," from an important "clan," hence, probably through misunderstanding, the popular Spanish name of the tribe, meaning "pinery people." Like the rest of the Chiricahua, the Pinalañes are so mixed with the other Apache of the White Mountain reservation that they can no longer be segregated. They should not be confounded with the Pinal Coyoterós.

III. Coyoterós. So named, it is said, from their former habit of subsisting partly on coyotes, but this is doubtless erroneous. The name has been applied very indiscriminately, but is generally accepted to mean those Apache originally living in what is now the southern part of the White mountains of Arizona, between San Carlos creek and the Gila, although they ranged practically throughout the limits of the state. They numbered 528 in 1910, but are no longer separately reported in official returns.

Pinal Coyoterós. These were so called because they were supposed to have been a part of the Coyoterós, usually inhabiting the Pinal mountains between Pinal and Pinto creeks and Salt river, although they were sometimes found pretty far from home. The name was also used synonymously with Tonto Apache, but not with Apache Tonto, which was the name of three or four mixed bands, principally of Yuman blood. The Spanish name Tonto ("stupid, ignorant, foolish") applied to these people is a misnomer. Their own name, *Dilzhay*, or *Deláje*, signifying "red ant," was evidently originally the name of a "clan." The Tontos under the San Carlos and Camp Verde schools were officially reported to number 700 in 1910, but they are now classed merely as "Apache." The well-known "Tonto Basin" in Arizona derived its name from the tribe.

IV. *Gileños*. As will be seen (paragraph XLIV), this name was first applied by Benavides to the Apache of the upper waters of the Gila in New Mexico—possibly those who later became known as the *Tchishi-dinne*, or Warm Springs Apache, of whom Victorio and Nané were famous warriors in 1880-82. Forty or fifty years ago the name Gileño specifically designated a small band living east of the Chiricahua, about the Rio Gila in southwestern New Mexico, and generally all of the Gila river Indians including parts of the Coyotereros, Mogollones, Pinal Coyotereros, Chiricahua, and Mimbresños, and even the Pima of another stock. The name, therefore, has no ethnic significance.

V. *Mimbresños*. While the principal habitat of this division of the Chiricahua Apache was in the mountains from which they derived their name (the Mimbres), they roamed over an extensive territory from both sides of the Rio Grande in New Mexico southward into Coahuila, and westward to the present White mountains in Arizona. They are identical with the Coppermine Apaches of some writers, and with a part of the Gileños of others. The celebrated warrior "Mangas Colorado" (*Mangas Coloradas*, "Red Sleeves") was a member of this band.

VI. *Mogollones*. So called from their former range, the Mogollón mesa and mountains extending from western New Mexico into eastern Arizona, which in turn received its name from Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón, governor of New Mexico, 1712-15. As mentioned above, they were a Chiricahua band.

As noted, the Apache groups of Arizona are no longer officially segregated, being designated merely as "Apache." But in order that the proportionate population of the several divisions of Arizona Apache may approximately be determined, the census returns of the Apache population for 1910 are given, as follows: Coyotereros, under San Carlos School, Arizona, 528; San Carlos Apaches, same school, 1,072; Tonto Apaches (including some Indians of Yuman affinity), same school, 582, and under the Camp Verde School, 118; White Mountain Apaches, under the Fort Apache School, 2,269; unclassified Apache under the Pima School, 59. Total Apache population in 1910, 6,258. In 1940, the Apache were officially distributed as follows: Fort Apache reservation, Arizona, 2,987; San Carlos reservation, Arizona, 3,157; Jicarillas, in New Mexico, 761; Mescaleros, in New Mexico (including Chiricahua and a few Lipan), 806; Kiowa Apache on the Kiowa reservation, Oklahoma, 350; total, 8,061. Consult the writings of Bourke, Gifford, Goodwin, Lockwood, Pichardo, Opler, and Thomas.

112. See note 5.

113. It should be understood that Benavides employs the term "Apache" to include the Navaho; indeed, the latter are more specifically referred to in the present instance than the Apache—before the two were designated by their distinguishing names.

114. Of course, this comparison of the population of the Apache tribes with that of entire New Spain, or Mexico, is ridiculous.

115. The number given is greatly exaggerated; indeed, a war-party of three hundred at that time might have been regarded as of considerable

size. The North American Indians did not fight in hordes. Benavides here, as elsewhere, in both Memorials, obviously desires to show the vast importance of the mission field of New Mexico. See also paragraph XLVII.

116. This statement is correct. Any warrior of sufficient influence could always raise and command a war-party.

117. See note 72.

118. See note 111, item iv. In the Memorial of 1630, Benavides describes the painting on the deerskin more specifically; the skin "was very white and large; and painted in the middle of it was a sun of green color, with a cross on top; and below the sun was painted the moon in gray color with another cross on top" (p. 43). The crosses were possibly designed to represent stars. See Appendix xiv.

119. The father custodian seems to express the belief that the Christianization of the Apache was already well under way; on the contrary, it is much more likely that no impression whatsoever was made on these Indians, and that our friend Sanaba, whom Benavides had already "regaled," found it profitable, solely from a temporal point of view, to encourage the missionaries. In the Memorial of 1630, Benavides did not mention the assignment of Fray Martín de Espíritu Santo to the Gila Apache in 1628; but it is known that Fray Bartholomé Romero and Fray Francisco Muñoz, of Perea's band of missionaries, who reached New Mexico in the spring of the following year, were given charge of the "Apaches of Quinía and Manases," named evidently after certain Navaho headmen. In paragraph XLVIII we learn that the Apache of Quinía and of Manases lived 50 leagues or more beyond those "Apaches de Navajó" who previously had been reached in about a day's journey from Santa Clara pueblo, hence these two groups must also have been Navaho. Indeed, Benavides says that they were "of the same nation."

The missionary labors of these friars among the Navaho were in no wise of a permanent character, for as those people never lived in settled communities, their Christianization was next to impossible. We find, therefore, that soon after entering this western territory, Romero, at least, took up residence in the Hopi pueblo of Oraibi, where he labored for more than ten years (Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 138). Of Fray Francisco de Muñoz little seems to be known; there is evidence that he left New Mexico in the autumn of 1629. Later he served in Yucatan. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the name of a Bartolomé López Romero is inscribed on El Morro (Lummis, *Strange Corners*, p. 162), as likewise is that of one "Bar^{me} Romelo," 1641 (Simpson, *Report*, pl. 65). If either of these should prove to be the name of our Fray Bartolomé Romero, it would be the only instance of a Spanish Franciscan inscribing his name on the rock.

There is no evidence that the experiment of missionizing the Navaho Apache was ever repeated for a considerable time thereafter. During the next two and a half centuries, the Apache proper were entirely without the spiritual consolation which the father custodian was so desirous of ministering. A little light is shed on the cause of the desire of the savages for the "good medicine" which the missionaries were believed by them to be able to prescribe, in treating of the conversion of the Jumano (note 134).

Of the first missionary efforts in connection with the Apache, Perea (*Verdadera Relación*, 1632; see Appendix xxv) says: "A la nacion de los Apaches, de Quinia, y Manases, fueron el Padre Bartholome Romero Lector de Theologia, y Fray Fráncisco Muñoz Predicador: y por ser la primera entrada en aquella nacion belicosa, y guerrera, les fue haziendo escolta don Francisco de Sylva [Nieto] Governador de aquellas provincias, con veinte soldados; si bien no fue necessaria la prevencion, porque de su parte faltò la resistencia, y sobiò el agrado cò que pedian el Santo Baptismo." See note 5.

120. This was in the famous (or infamous) and appropriately named Jornada del Muerto, which lay east of the Rio Grande between Fray Cristóbal and Robledo, or the vicinity of what later became Fort Selden, opposite "Cerro Robledo" on modern maps, sixty miles above El Paso, approach to the river between these points being cut off by the Fray Cristóbal range and the Sierra de los Caballos. Until the Santa Fe railway was extended southward from Isleta to El Paso, this desert route was the terror of all travelers, and many a life has gone out in an endeavor to cross the inhospitable stretch of eighty miles. The spring to which attention is called is doubtless the "Ojo del Muerto" of the first half of the last century, which was situated in the mountains, five or six miles west of the road, to reach which one had to wind two or three miles down a narrow cañon under exposure to attack by bands of the "Apaches del Perrillo," as Benavides terms those bands of the Mescaleros (mescal-eaters) which infested the region described. (See Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, pp. 72-74.)

It is interesting to record information regarding the naming of the "Perrillo" water-hole, for the little dog to which Benavides alludes might otherwise be unknown to history. The sagacious canine was attached to Juan de Oñate's expedition to New Mexico in 1598, which, traveling up the Rio Grande valley, had entered the Jornada del Muerto and on May 21 had buried Pedro Robledo, from which the cerro probably took its name. On the 23d (only six leagues having been covered since Robledo's death, "por que ibamos fuera del Rio, cinco o seis leguas desviados, hacia el Oriente a la mano derecha"), the following occurrence was recorded: "Este dia, con ocasión de un perro que vino, enlodados los pies y manos, se buscaron aguaxes; y el capitán Villagran halló uno, y Cristóbal Sanchez otro, no lejos de nosotros, hacia el Rio; y empezó á enfermar de gota nuestro Padre Comissario." (Discurso de las Jornadas, *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 248.) The detour of which Oñate speaks is alluded to also by Benavides (Memorial of 1630, p. 16) when he says: "... and we pass by way of them [the Apaches of the Perrillo] with less anxiety, until we reach the Rio del Norte again, on whose banks commence the settlements of New Mexico."

121. Navaho. The origin of the name Navaho is thus given by Edgar L. Hewett (*American Anthropologist*, n. s., VIII, p. 193): "In the second valley south of the great pueblo and cliff village of Puye in the Pajarito Park, New Mexico, is a small pueblo ruin known to the Tewa Indians as Navahú, this being, as they claim, the original name of the village. The ruined villages of this plateau are all Tewa of the pre-Spanish period. This

particular pueblo was well situated for agriculture, there being a considerable acreage of tillable land near by—far more than this small population would have utilized. The old trail across the neck of the mesa to the north is worn hip-deep in the rocks, showing constant, long-continued use. I infer that these were the fields of not only the people of Navahú but also of the more populous settlements beyond the great mesa to the north where tillable land is wanting. The Tewa Indians assert that the name 'Navahú' refers to the large area of cultivated lands. This suggests an identity with Navajó which Fray Alonso de Benavides, in his Memorial on New Mexico published in 1630, applied to that branch of the Apache nation ('Apaches de Navajó') then living to the west of the Rio Grande, beyond the very section above mentioned. Speaking of these people Benavides says: 'But these [Apaches] of Navajó are very great farmers [*labradores*], for that [is what] "Navajó" signifies—"great planted fields" [*sementeras grandes*].'

"These facts may admit of two interpretations. So far as we know, this author was the first to use the name Navaho in literature, and he would have been almost certain to have derived it from the Pueblos of New Mexico among whom he lived as Father Custodian of the province from 1622 [1625] to 1629, since the Navaho never so designated themselves. The expression 'the Apaches of Navajó' may have been used to designate an intrusive band that had invaded Tewa territory and become intrenched in this particular valley. On the other hand, the Navaho, since the pastoral life of post-Spanish times was not then possible to them, may have been so definitely agriculturists, as Benavides states, . . . and have occupied such areas of cultivated lands, that their habitat, wherever it was, would have been known to the Tewa as Navahú, 'the place of great planted fields.'

"If the first interpretation is correct, it would doubtless be verified by archaeological evidences at the ruin of Navahú. It would seem at any rate that the Tewa origin of the tribal designation *Navaho* is assured."

The original home of the Navaho, as recognized by themselves, extended from the San Juan mountains in Colorado to the latitude of the San Mateo mountains (Mount Taylor) in New Mexico, and from the vicinity of Jemez pueblo in the east to the San Francisco mountains of Arizona in the west. They now occupy (1944) a reservation of about 16,500,000 acres (4,990,000 in 1890) in northwestern New Mexico, northeastern Arizona, and southeastern Utah, but many of their number live beyond its borders. While the Navaho are regarded as a division of the Athapaskan family, there is no doubt that the tribe has a considerable infusion of people of other stocks who have either been voluntarily adopted in considerable bodies as clans, or else captured during the numerous raids against weaker tribes, which made their name dreaded, especially by the sedentary Indians of the Rio Grande, for more than two and a half centuries.

At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the Navaho were relatively insignificant. No mention is made of them by Coronado's chroniclers, although two side trips were made in 1540 through a part of their country. From traditionary evidence, substantiated by historical data, it has been found that the Navaho were very limited in number at the time of the Discovery and that the wholesale adoption took place after the middle of the sixteenth century. Their name seems first to appear as Apaches de Nabajú, in the *Relación* of Zárate Salmerón, which treats of New Mexico

history to the year 1626, although there is internal evidence that it was not finished until 1629. All early efforts to Christianize the Navaho proved failures, as may be judged by an analysis of Benavides' report. The only attempt that gave promise of success was made in 1746 by Padre Juan Menchero, who visited the Navaho country and induced several hundred to settle at Cebolleta (Kubler's "Sebogeta"), north of Laguna; but the enterprise came to an end within a couple of years. In 1749, Menchero made another attempt, reestablishing the Cebolleta mission and founding another at Encinal, north of Acoma, at what is now the Laguna village of Punyekia; but in the spring of 1750 these missions were abandoned by the two friars in charge, the Navaho not taking very kindly to sedentary life. In 1804, the Navaho themselves asked that missionaries be sent to them at Cebolleta, but the request was not granted. The principal event in Navaho history since the United States took possession of the Southwest was the Navaho war of 1861-64—which had the usual result. Most of those who were not killed were taken to the Bosque Redondo, in the valley of the Pecos, but were returned to their former home in 1867, when they numbered about 9,000. The inaccurate United States census of 1890 gave the tribe a population of 17,204; the census returns of 1940 gave a total of 49,736 in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah; thus they form the largest Indian tribe in the United States. The Navaho have long been noted for their blankets and rugs of native manufacture on handlooms—an industry doubtless introduced among them by adopted Pueblos, and greatly developed through the acquirement of sheep (now numbering about 500,000) originally stolen from Indian and Spanish flocks. They are also adept in the manufacture of silver jewelry and other ornaments—an art derived, of course, from Spanish descendants.

The literature of the Navaho has become so extensive that we shall not attempt to list even the more important publications on the subject. The reader will find readily available *A Bibliography of the Navaho Indians*, by Kluckhohn and Spencer, New York, 1940, and a long list in *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, by George Peter Murdock, New Haven, 1941. See also Mary Tucker, *Books of the Southwest, a General Bibliography*, New York, 1937; F. B. Steck, *A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands*, Philadelphia, 1943, and Lyle Saunders, *A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico*, Albuquerque, 1944.

122. See note 115. The sergeant major must have been frightened indeed!

123. Capoo. This is close to the aboriginal name since applied to the pueblo, the strict form being *K'ha-pó-o*. In 1895, the writer was informed by a *viejo* of Santa Clara that the original "Capó-o" was a few hundred yards northwest of the present village; thence its inhabitants moved to the Puyé mesa on account of Navaho inroads, but were finally induced by the Spaniards to build the present town. Bandelier fixes the date of the erection of the present church at Santa Clara at 1761. (*Final Report*, II, p. 65.) From the fact that Benavides remained in New Mexico for some months after his successor, Estevan de Perea, arrived with the thirty priests and lay brothers in the spring of 1629, and that various

missions were established during the latter part of that year, it is not positively known which of the ten convents Benavides actually founded. (See paragraph XLIII.) We know that there were eleven churches in the province in 1617, which were San Juan, San Ildefonso and Nambé (Tewa); Galisteo (Tano); Santo Domingo and Sia (Keres); Sandia and Isleta (Tiwa); Chilili (Manzano-Tiwa); Santa Fe; and possibly San Lázaro, since we have mention of a guardian there in 1613. By the end of 1629, numerous additional missions had been founded, including: Taos; Picuris; Santa Clara; San Cristóbal (both San Cristóbal and San Lázaro, noted above, later became *visitas*); San Felipe; San Diego de Jemez; San José de Jemez; Quarái; Abó; Humanas, San Isidro (temporary); Socorro; Senecú; Sevilleta [?]; Acoma; Zuñi missions; and the Hopi missions. Tajique and San Marcos had convents in the 1630's.

124. The date given indicates that Benavides did not return to Mexico for nearly half a year, at least, after the arrival of Perea, his successor. See the Biography, pp. 4-5.

125. Cane cigarettes, such as those here mentioned, were regarded as sacred and have been found in deposits of many hundreds in Southwestern caves, where they were sacrificed. Sometimes these cane cigarettes, often with feathers attached, were designed as offerings, not for smoking, as the nodes of the canes were not removed. In former times smoking by the Pueblo Indians was purely a ceremonial function, and indeed it is still done for this purpose, the ascending smoke clouds being regarded as ancillary to prayers for rain.

126. Stigmata of St. Francis. This has reference to the reputed appearance, both during the life as well as after the death of St. Francis of Assisi (the founder of the Franciscan order), of the five wounds of Christ on his body, which were believed to have had a miraculous origin during a vision while St. Francis was in solemn meditation on Mount La Verna. Several witnesses testified to the occurrence, including Pope Alexander IV, who claimed to have seen the wounds also before the death of the saint. This supposedly divine infliction, being the first of its kind, resulted in according the Franciscan order unusual prestige. Says Rev. Augustin Poulain, S.J., of Paris (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, xiv, p. 295): "The first [stigmatic] mentioned is St. Francis of Assisi, in whom the stigmata were of a character never seen subsequently: in the wounds of feet and hands were excrescences of flesh representing nails, those on one side having round black heads, those on the other having rather long points, which bent back and grasped the skin. The saint's humility could not prevent a great many of his brethren beholding with their own eyes the existence of these wonderful wounds during his lifetime as well as after his death. The fact is attested by a number of contemporary historians, and the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis is kept on 17 September." See note 2.

127. One may be inclined to question how the Navaho could have been impressed by the teachings and mysteries of Christianity so quickly. How effectual the gesture of peace proved to be is shown by the fact that the Navaho were ever prone to raid the Pueblos, to rob their crops, and to carry women and children into captivity. This lasted until after the return

of the tribe from their incarceration in the Bosque Redondo in 1867. As mentioned before, the Navaho population given by Benavides is fantastically high.

128. See note 119.

129. Fray Gerónimo de Pedraza was a native of the City of Mexico where he made his profession, December 2, 1608. During the serious contention between Governor Peralta and the father commissary in July, 1613, Pedraza was wounded by a pistol in the hands of the governor (Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 32). In paragraph XLVII, Benavides mentions Pedraza as a great surgeon and that when the attempt to convert the Navaho (Apaches of Quinía and Manases) was made in 1628, he and Fray Pedro de Ortega were among them. Pedraza died in the convent of San Felipe, May 5, 1664 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 144; *idem*, *Crónica*, p. 315). Fray Pedro de Ortega (see note 134), who came to New Mexico in the year 1618, was appointed notary of the Holy Office by Benavides and read the edict of faith when the new custodian formally assumed office, January 25, 1626 (Scholes, *op. cit.*, p. 87; see Appendices v and VII, and paragraph LI).

130. See note 95.

131. See note 119, where it is explained that Fray Bartolomé did not reach New Mexico until the spring of 1629.

132. See note 111.

133. See note 15.

134. Jumano. These Indians have been identified with several tribes or bands belonging to the Caddoan stock, including the Wichita, originally of Kansas, and the Tawéhash or Taovayas of Texas, although in the case of the latter the Jumano are sometimes mentioned as a distinct people. The Jumano were first seen, though not named, by Cabeza de Vaca, about the beginning of 1536, between the Conchos and the Rio Grande in the present Chihuahua, in which territory they were found also by Antonio de Espejo late in 1582, this explorer calling them Jumanas and Patarabueyes, and ascribing to them a population of 10,000 in five villages; but Espejo's estimates of population are always greatly exaggerated. In 1598, Oñate referred to them as Rayados, on account of their custom of tattooing, painting, or otherwise striating their faces (the Wichita at a later period were known as Pawnee Picts, Speckled Pawnee, etc.) and later wrote of a more northerly division occupying the villages of Atripuy, Genobey, Quellotezei, and Pataozei, "con sus subgetos," situated in the vicinity of the Salinas, or salt lagoons, east of the Rio Grande in the present New Mexico (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, p. 114). To these settlements Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned as priest, but the field was so vast and the missionary laborers so few that aside from a few baptisms it is not probable that active steps were taken toward their spiritual welfare until Benavides' time. The first active missionary to the Jumano (aside from Fray Juan de Salas, when in 1629 they were living more than a hundred leagues to the eastward) was Fray Francisco Letrado, a member of Perea's band of thirty. How long Letrado remained among the Jumano is not known, but in paragraph I Benavides states that after his departure from New Mexico (in

1629) Fray Ascencio de Zárate went from the Picurís mission and Fray Pedro de Ortega either from Taos or from Santa Fe to the Jumano; but Zárate evidently returned to Picurís, for he died there in 1632 (note 95). In the year last named, Letrado was among the Zúñi, and, as we have already seen, was murdered by those Indians, February 22, 1632. For the missionary efforts of Salas and his companions among the Jumano, see note 135.

It should not be assumed that because Jumano were found living on the Rio Nueces (identified by Bolton as the Rio Colorado) of Texas in 1650 by Hernán Martín and Diego del Castillo, and in 1654 by Diego de Guadalajara and a party of thirty soldiers, that they had removed from the Conchos junction in Chihuahua and from New Mexico, as their subsequent history would seem to indicate that they were split into several bands, and there is even ground for suspicion that the name Jumano (in many forms of spelling) was applied to several tribes of Caddoan stock living in Texas and the adjacent country. It will be recalled that the Piro and the Tigua pueblos of the Salinas in New Mexico were abandoned on account of Apache depredations in 1669-1675. Presumably driven from the Salinas with the Pueblos at that time, Indians of the "Xoman" tribe were found in 1675 a short distance north of the Rio Grande and east of the Pecos.

The Pueblo revolt followed in 1680, in which the Jumano did not participate; indeed, there is evidence that they were friendly to the Spaniards during this trying period. While the rebellion was still in progress, that is, on October 20, 1683, a delegation of the tribe, led by Juan Sabeata, visited El Paso, then the seat of the New Mexican government, and petitioned for missionaries, saying that thirty-three nations, including his own, were awaiting baptism, since, being on the point of a great battle and anxious because they were few while their enemies numbered more than thirty thousand (!), they invoked the aid of the cross as their forefathers had done, when they defeated their enemies and gained much spoils of war without losing a man. The relation of this miracle proved to be only a ruse that the Spaniards might be induced to accompany the Jumano across the Rio Conchos to their territory without fear of the Apache, who were blocking the way. Nevertheless, their story was believed and three friars (Nicolás López, Juan de Zavaleta, and Antonio de Acevedo) accompanied the Jumano back to their home at La Junta (the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande), followed a fortnight later by Juan Domínguez de Mendoza and a small escort. Leaving Father Acevedo at La Junta, the party proceeded eastwardly to another band of Jumano about the junction of the Concho and the Colorado, latitude 31° 30', in Texas. In January, 1684, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza (who had been a member of Guadalajara's party of thirty years earlier) and Fray Nicolás López, with a small escort of soldiers, went to the Jumano on the Rio Nueces (Rio Colorado), where a number of Indians were baptized and nearly five thousand buffalo-skins obtained. This journey led to attempts to establish missions among the Jumano, Domínguez and López visiting Mexico for that purpose; but the glowing prospects set forth in their petitions were regarded as too fantastic for favorable consideration.

Chiefly from unpublished Spanish documents in the archives of Mexico, Bolton has shown that almost continuously for the decade between

1683 and 1693 a Jumano tribe lived "near the Rio Grande, both above and below the Pecos, or hunting buffalo in south central Texas. Their winter home was characteristically near the Pecos and Rio Grande, while in summer they journeyed to the buffalo plains of the Guadalupe and the Colorado. They were enemies of the Apaches, who had crowded them southward from the upper Colorado." Specifically, in 1686 they were, with other tribes, at La Junta, whither they had been driven from the Nueces by the Apaches; and the following year the "Chouman" were heard of by members of the ill-fated La Salle party west or southwest of the lower reaches of the Rio Colorado, two days' journey from the Spanish settlements. In 1688, the Jumano were reported by Spaniards near the Rio Grande, on the border of Coahuila, and in the following year Alonso de León found a ranchería of "Jumenes" and others five leagues south of the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the present Eagle Pass. They were a comparatively numerous tribe in 1691, as Terán and Massanet in that year visited a hunting camp of the Jumano and other Indians, the Jumano alone numbering three hundred warriors, the document pertaining to this expedition referring to them as "'the Xumano tribe of the Rio [Grande] del Norte and the Rio Salado [Pecos]." Juan Sabeata, before mentioned, was their chief at this time.

From 1693 to 1716, Texas was abandoned by the Spaniards, consequently only glimpses of the Jumano were had during this period, but it is not probable that their habitat changed materially during this time. On the return of the Spaniards to Texas in 1716, they found the Jumano in alliance with the Apache, and consequently at enmity with the Spaniards and the T́exas (Hasinai); and these relations continued during the second and third decades of the century at least, during which period the Jumano were found in their old haunts both along the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the Rio Concho of Texas and in the central part of the province. Bolton states that after 1733 the Jumano "come to be regarded not merely as allies of the Apache, but as a division of the Apache," and are called "los Apaches Jumanes." This must not be taken to signify ethnic or linguistic relation of the two peoples, but rather that the term "Apache" indicated "wild," "predatory," "warlike," as it was frequently used in such sense in New Mexico and was not infrequently applied to outlaw tribes bearing no relation to the Athapascan Apache. In 1746, the Jumano, as Bolton says, "were habitually found in the region of the Rio Grande, on the borders of Coahuila and Nueva Viscaya, and that they sometimes made raids into Nuevo León." From 1750, the Taovayas (Tawéhash) of the Red River country of Texas, frequently called Jumano by the Spaniards of New Mexico, were allied with the Comanche (who had drifted into the southern plains from the north at the beginning of the century), and consequently were enemies of the Apache—unlike their congeners of the Rio Grande-Conchos region, who, as we have seen, were Apache allies in the first half of the eighteenth century and still retained that relation in 1771. This shows the aberrant character of the Jumano-Taovayas bands of Texas and their tendency during a long period to submit to the influence of tribes as widely different in habits and character as the Pueblos and the Apache. Occasionally, after La Salle's time (1687), they are mentioned in French sources, and a century later (1789) the French recom-

mended the opening of trade between New Mexico and Louisiana by establishing a presidio among the Jumano in Texas. In 1825, the Comanche reported that the Kiowa had separated from them "and had gone to the pueblo of the Jumanes for a council of war, for the purpose of attacking those in the north; this is what the Comanches said and they believed that such separation and going to the Town of the Jumanes is for the purpose of joining the said Town of Jumanes." (Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, p. 347.) As late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jumano (here probably the Wichita of the present Oklahoma) were mentioned in connection with the Kiowa, since which time no reference to them, at least under the name Jumano, seems to have been made in history. Bandelier in 1890 asserted that he found a trace of them, dating about 1855, when they were living in Texas "not far from the Comanches." In 1895, Hodge was informed by the venerable José Miguel Peco (Zu-wá-ng'), a native of Pecos, then residing at Jemez, but since deceased, that he remembered having seen some "Humanesh," as he called them, many years before. They lived in tipis, he said, not in houses, a month's journey from the Rio Grande, in the "Sierra Jumanos," which, by the way, in the form "Jumanes Mountains," is the name by which Josiah Gregg, author of the excellent *Commerce of the Prairies*, knew the Wichita mountains. They differed somewhat from the Comanche, whom the Pecos people called Ko-mant'-sesh.

For a full discussion of the Jumano in New Mexico, their pueblo life, and the identification of the so-called "Gran Quivira" with the pueblo of the Jumanos, see Scholes and Mera, *Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem*. It should be noted also that Benavides asserts in paragraph XXIX that among the pueblos of the Tompiros (the eastern division of the Piro) "there is a large one which must have three thousand souls. It is called the one of the Xumanas, because this nation often comes there to trade and barter."

In this connection, however, we are pleased to present the following conclusions submitted by that eminent authority on the early history of the Southwest, Dr. France Scholes:

"In a paper written in collaboration with Dr. H. P. Mera (*Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem*), I presented evidence to show that in the early colonial documents the term Jumano was employed to designate Indians in widely separated areas. For example, we find it applied to (a) Espejo's Jumanos at La Junta, (b) a plains tribe mentioned in the account of Zaldívar's expedition to the buffalo country in 1598, (c) the Quiviras visited by Oñate in 1601, (d) a group in Arizona, and (e) the pueblos of the Jumanos or *rayados* in the Salinas area in eastern New Mexico. In all cases the Indians apparently used some form of body decoration, and in one document we find the statement that the Tewa Indians of New Mexico used the term Jumano to designate 'all the *rayados*.' Thus there would seem to be reason for believing that Jumano was a general term that could designate Indians of different cultural affiliations who used some form of body decoration, probably painting or tattooing. In the documents of the later seventeenth century, the term was usually applied to plains Indians in central or southern Texas.

"With regard to the pueblos of Jumanos or *rayados* in eastern New

Mexico, I am convinced that they were permanent settlements of Pueblo culture whose inhabitants spoke the Tompiro language. One of them was evidently the 'Xumanas' pueblo where Benavides founded the mission of San Isidro in 1627, later administered by Fray Francisco Letrado. This was the pueblo of Jumanos later served as a *visita* of Abó and subsequently reestablished as a separate mission (San Buenaventura) and often referred to as Las Humanas. Kubler identified this place as Gran Quivira ruin, and I am in entire agreement on this point.

"Why were these settlements called pueblos of Jumanos? There are two explanations: (a) the fact that in Oñate's time at least many of the Indians used some form of body decoration (they were *rayados*); (b) Benavides' statement that the pueblo where he founded San Isidro mission was called Xumanas, 'because this nation [he evidently refers to plains Jumanos] often comes there to trade and barter.' These explanations are equally applicable.

"In the mission history of the late 1620's and early 1630's we have two movements involving 'Jumano' Indians. One deals with the permanent Tompiro-speaking settlements near the salines and the activities of Benavides and Letrado at San Isidro mission. The other deals with the missionary journeys of Fray Juan de Salas and other friars to 'Jumanos' located farther east on the plains."

Consult *Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, xv, xvi (for Espejo and Oñate); Hodge, "The Jumano Indians"; Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771"; *idem*, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690"; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, and *North Mexican States and Texas*, *passim*; Bandelier, *Final Report*; Vetancurt, *Crónica*; Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa*; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II; Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*; Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629"; Hackett, *Hist Docs.*, III; Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*. See Piro; Tompiro.

135. Benavides refers to the labors of Fray Juan de Salas in New Mexico during "years back" (Memorial of 1630, p. 58), doubtless alluding to his presence as guardian of the mission of San Antonio, which he founded at Isleta as early as 1613, and whence he ministered also to the Indians of the Salinas, including the Jumano, until 1629, when the arrival of the new missionaries under Perea, as Benavides relates, enabled the establishment of independent missions in that region (see Jumano; Piro; Tiguex; Tompiro). On July 22, 1629, some fifty Jumano appeared at Isleta, where the custodian (Perea) was then staying, to renew their oft-repeated request for resident missionaries. It is this visit to which Benavides refers. Fray Diego López, Salas' companion on the journey to the Jumano, was probably also in New Mexico when Perea arrived. In 1630-32, Salas was still deeply engaged in the work of expanding the missions. He served as custodian of the missions in 1638-41, when he was succeeded by Fray Hernando Covarrubias, and two years later we find him guardian of the Quarai mission.

There has been some speculation as to whether the Fray Juan de Salas of New Mexico could have been the same as the Fray Juan de Salas,

or Salazar, provincial at Jalisco and Michoacán in 1603-1607. This seems most improbable. The New Mexico Salas professed as a Franciscan in 1599, when he was seventeen years of age; he would hardly have been elected provincial only four years after professing and when, moreover, he was only twenty-one years of age.

See Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, pp. 233, 261; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 311.

136. The picture of the nun, Luisa de Carrión, was in possession of Fray García de San Francisco (founder of the mission of Socorro), according to Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 302), who recounts the occurrence. The young and beautiful nun was afterward asserted to be María de Jesús, otherwise known as María de Agreda, of the town of Agreda in the province of Soria, Spain, born in 1602; died May 24, 1665. Her family name was Coronel. She is said to have made a vow of chastity at the age of eight, and entered the convent of the Immaculate Conception at Agreda with her mother in 1619, her father and two brothers becoming Franciscan friars at the same time. When twenty-five years of age she was made abbess by papal dispensation, and save for an interval of three years she remained superior all her life.

María de Jesús became celebrated chiefly through her book, *La Mística Ciudad de Dios, Historia Divina de la Virgen, Madre de Dios*, which she conceived in 1627 and which purports to be the account of revelations which the author declares were made to her by God. Among other things, she describes all that happened to the Virgin during the nine months that she was in her mother's womb; while certain details given in the fifteenth chapter were denounced as indecent. The work was condemned in Rome in 1681 by the Congregation of the Inquisition, but at the instance of Charles II the decree was suspended for Spain. The work was printed in Madrid in 1670, but it did not attract much attention outside of Spain until the first part was published in French at Marseilles in 1696. This was a signal for a storm, which broke out especially in the Sorbonne. The French translation having transgressed the order of Rome, it was referred to the Sorbonne, which condemned the book. Bossuet objected to its title, "its apocryphal stories, its indecent language, and its exaggerated Scotist philosophy." The canonization of María de Jesús was urged in 1672, and again in 1729, and although she died with the reputation of a saint, the canonization was never effected.

The so-called miraculous manifestations of María de Jesús as set forth in her *La Mística Ciudad* are characteristic of those she professed to have had in connection with the Indians of New Mexico. We have an inkling of these in the Memorial of Benavides, and have already seen (page 7) that he visited the nun at Agreda in 1631, where he had every opportunity of hearing from the lady's own lips, of her marvelous "flights" to New Mexico, where she had conversed with the Indians in their own languages, although she knew not a word of them excepting while on the spot. At the time of Benavides' interview, which seemingly extended over two weeks, María de Jesús was not yet twenty-nine years of age. Benavides wrote: "She has a beautiful face, very white, although rosy, with large black eyes. Her habit, and that of all the nuns in that convent—they number twenty-nine

in all—is just the same as our habit. It is made of coarse gray sackcloth, worn next to the skin, without any other tunic, skirt, or underskirt. Over this gray habit comes the one of white sackcloth, coarse, with a scapulary of the same material, and the cord of our father, Saint Francis. . . . The habit she wore most frequently was that of our father, Saint Francis; on other occasions it was that of La Concepción, together with the veil. However, she always wore the white sleeves rolled up, and the skirts of her white habit drawn up, so that the gray showed a great deal."

The first time she went to New Mexico was in 1620, says Benavides. She continued these visits "so often that there were days when she appeared three and four times in less than twenty-four hours." She told Benavides that she had accompanied him at the baptism of the Pizos [Piros?] Indians, and that she recognized him as being the same person whom she saw there. She also assisted Father Cristóbal Quirós in several baptisms, and she gave Benavides "a minute description of his person and face, even saying that although he was old he did not show any gray hair, but that he was long-faced and ruddy." She likewise told how "once when the father [Quirós] was in his church [at Sia] baptizing, many Indians came in and all crowded around the door and that she with her own hands pushed them on, getting them to their places so that they would not hinder him; that they looked to see who was pushing them and they laughed when they were unable to see who did it," and so forth, of like purport. The lady not only transported herself fifteen or twenty thousand miles a day, for "once she took from here [Agreda] a chalice for consecration, and the friars used it for saying mass and for carrying the blessed sacrament in procession. All of this will be found there [in New Mexico], as well as many crosses and rosaries that she distributed."

In a letter of Don Damián Manzanet to Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora relative to the discovery of the bay of Espíritu Santo (Matagorda bay), Texas, the writer says, in speaking of the period of the Alonso de León expedition in 1689, that at that time "I was living at the Mission Caldera, in the province of Coahuila, whither I had gone with the intention of seeing whether I could make investigations and obtain information about the interior of the country to the north and north-east, on account of facts gathered from a letter now in my possession, which had been given in Madrid to our Father Fray Antonio Linaz. This letter treats of what the blessed Mother María de Jesús de Agreda made known in her convent to the Father Custodian of New Mexico, Fray Alonso de Benavides. And the blessed Mother tells of having been frequently to New Mexico and to the Gran Quivira, adding that eastward from the Gran Quivira are situated the kingdoms of Ticlas, Theas, and Caburcol. She also says that these names are not the ones belonging to those kingdoms, but come close to the real names. Because of this information, brought by me from Spain, together with the fact of my call to the ministry for the conversion of the heathen, I had come over and dwelt in the missions of Coahuila . . . " (Manzanet letter in *Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, II, pp. 282-283, April, 1899.)

Again Manzanet says: "For lack of more time I shall now only add what is the most noteworthy thing of all, namely this: While we were at the Tejas [Hasinai] village, after we had distributed clothing to the Indians

and to the governor of the Tejas, the said governor asked me one evening for a piece of blue baize to make a shroud in which to bury his mother when she died; I told him that cloth would be more suitable, and he answered that he did not want any color other than blue. I then asked him what mystery was attached to the blue color, and he said that they were very fond of that color, particularly for burial clothes, because in times past they had been visited frequently by a very beautiful woman, who used to come down from the heights, dressed in blue garments, and that they wished to be like that woman. On my asking whether that had been long since, the governor said it had been before his time, but his mother, who was aged, had seen that woman, as had also the other old people. From this it is easily to be seen that they referred to the Madre María de Jesús de Agreda, who was very frequently in those regions, as she herself acknowledged to the Father Custodian of New Mexico, her last visit having been made in 1631, this last fact being evident from her own statement, made to the said Father Custodian of New Mexico." (*Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.)

Regarding the color of the baize so particularly specified by the Indian, it should be noted that Benavides just as explicitly states that the habit of the nun was gray, although the cloak was of heavy blue sackcloth.

This no doubt will prove sufficient to indicate the mental character of this nun. For other performances to which she laid claim, see the letter of Benavides, together with her own communication, before cited (Appendices XI-A, XI-B, and XXIV).

For more detailed information regarding María de Jesús, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, s. v. "Agreda," with bibliography, but which does not refer to the nun's manifestations in New Mexico; Vetancurt, *Crónica*; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*; Manzanet (Massanet), "Carta," in *Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, II, April, 1899; Bolton in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI, no. 1, July, 1912; Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, II; and Hackett, *Pichardo's Treatise*, III.

137. There seems to be confusion regarding the name of this friar. Benavides specifically mentions Diego López as Salas' companion on this journey to the Jumano in 1629, and Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 163) calls him Didaco López. See also Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 302. A Diego Ortega is mentioned by Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, I, p. 385) as a companion of Salas on a journey to the Jumano in 1632, but Bancroft apparently copied an error of Father Alonso de Posadas in his *Informe* (A. G. N., *Historia*, III). Posadas refers to Fray Diego López both as Fray Diego de Ortega and Fray Juan de Ortega. There was no friar by this name in New Mexico at this time.

138. In the 1630 Memorial, Benavides mentions these two tribes as "Iapes and Xabatoas," and as neighbors of the Jumano. It was in this general neighborhood that the Iapes lived in 1675, when Fernando del Bosque found the "Apes" in association with the Catujanos, Tilijaes, and Pachagues (Parchaque), tribes evidently of Coahuiltecan affinity which occupied the country northeast of Monclova, Coahuila, across the Rio Grande (Fernando del Bosque in *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, XIV, p. 347; Bolton, "The Bosque-Larios Expedition, 1675," in *Sp. Expl. in the Southwest*; and Pichardo's

Treatise.) Alonso de León mentions the "Hapes" with other tribes in 1689: "They were five nations joined together, . . . entitled Hapes, Jumenes [Jumano], Xiabu [Xabatoas?], Mescalé, and another. We counted eighty-five huts. . . There were 490 of them." (Alonso de León in *Texas Hist. Asso. Quar.*, VIII, p. 205, January 1905.) Following his account of the conversion of the Jumano in the Memorial of 1630, Benavides gives a chapter on the "Kingdom of Quivira Aixaos," omitted in this revision.

The name Quivira was first employed by the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition in 1540-42 to designate the Wichita and their tribal range in the present Kansas (see Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*; Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*). The route of the expedition from Pecos pueblo in New Mexico was southeastwardly to the buffalo plains of western Texas, thence northward to the Arkansas river (the Quivira country) and beyond. The Wichita gradually drifted southward to the vicinity of the Wichita mountains—a movement that had commenced prior to Benavides' time, for his Quivira seems to have been farther southward (*i. e.*, in latitude 37°) than during the previous century; that is, the Wichita had probably abandoned the Arkansas and Smoky Hill country of Kansas, where they were met on the north by their kindred, the Pawnee, and during the early part of the seventeenth century were 150 leagues (about 400 miles) eastward from Santa Fe, which would place them approximately in the vicinity of the Cimarron or the Canadian river in Oklahoma, just north of the mountains to which the Wichita lent their name and which also at one time was known as the Jumano mountains.

The Aixaos mentioned by Benavides were evidently not the inhabitants of the province called "Harahey" by Jaramillo, and "Harale" by the *Relación del Suceso* (see Winship, *op. cit.*; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*), which adjoined the Quivira province in 1541 and which we have identified with the Pawnee country; but more likely the "Haxa," who, while on the Texas plains, Coronado learned were farther east from where his army then was. The present writer is inclined to think that the Aixaos (or Haxas) were the Eyeish (Aix, Ayas, Aij, etc.), a tribe of the Caddo confederacy which lived in eastern Texas, and was gathered in the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais, near the Sabine river, in 1716. Later they were said to have lived on a bayou bearing their name (Ayish, or Eyeish bayou), crossed by the road from Natchitoches to the Nacogdoches, about 12 miles west of the Sabine river. In 1782, they were reported to number 20 families, near the river mentioned; by 1805, they were near the Nacogdoches. Four years later there were said to have been only 25 survivors, and by 1820 these were reduced to 20, on Angelina river. It is also stated that in 1828 the "Aix" had 160 families, lived between the Brazos and the Colorado, and were allies of the Comanche, Tawakoni, and others. The last given population probably included other Caddoan divisions. On Caddo authority the Eyeish in 1881 were said to form a clan of that tribe. Those known as Caddo numbered 1071 in 1940, in Oklahoma.

Benavides, it will be seen, placed the Aixaos 30 or 40 leagues east of Quivira, or in southern Oklahoma; but as directions and distances are usually only approximated by our author, especially in those parts not personally visited by him, the location of the Aixaos province, if identi-

fiable with that of the Aix or Eyeish, was probably much more southeastwardly, in eastern Texas, where the Eyeish dwelt within the last century.

139. See "Tanto que se sacó" in Appendix xi.

140. It was Fray Juan de Santander, of the Franciscan order, then commissary general of the Indies, to whom Benavides addressed the original Memorial and which in turn was sent by Santander to the king. This communication is included in the printed edition, Madrid, 1630. For a sketch of his life, see *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, xviii, p. 639, summarized in note 1 of the Ayer edition of the Memorial.

141. See note 106.

142. See note 73.

143. See note 134.

144. Fray Pedro de Ortega officiated at the formal installation of Benavides, the edict of the faith being read by him, whom Benavides had appointed notary of the Holy Office. (Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, p. 87.) See Appendices v and vii.

145. Of course, Benavides is addressing Pope Urban VIII.

146. See note 3.

147. Knotted strings were a common method of reckoning. It will be recalled that such a string was employed by the Pueblo Indians who plotted the revolt of 1680. Similar strings were kept by the Zuñi for recording the number of their sheep and for keeping a record of days employed.

148. Our author here expresses a very roseate view of the effect of the labors which the ardent Franciscan missionaries devoted to the Christianization of the Pueblo Indians. The real results, however, were quite different, as witness the bitterness expressed by the natives from time to time before the great revolt of 1680, and especially during that tragic event when so many of the Franciscans were tortured and murdered. The events leading to the rebellion, between 1610 and 1650, are set forth in Scholes' excellent study, *Church and State in New Mexico*. As a matter of fact, the labors of the missionaries in New Mexico were practically without effect on the Indians; indeed, as late as 1937 the Santo Domingo Indians refused to permit the Catholic priest to say mass before their great annual Corn Dance. The services rendered by the Indians, described in the next paragraph (LII) were usually enforced.

149. Some of the mission records of Zuñi in the 18th century are in the Library of Congress. In the Southwest Museum are (1) the Libro de Entierros of San Ildefonso mission, 1725 to 1840; (2) a four-page record containing the names of 139 persons who were confirmed by the bishop of Durango in San Lorenzo de Picurís in 1833.

150. In reality, no one ever went hungry among the Pueblo Indians. Aside from the fact that the friars systemized the distribution of food, etc., to the poor, they were actually no better off.

151. Benavides' reference to the martyrdom of the missionaries on various occasions is hardly consistent with his statement of the devotion of the Indians in paragraph LII. See note 148.

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